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LIBRARY NOTES AND NEWS.

WE regret to have to record the death of Alderman Henry Plummer, J.P., which took place at his residence at Fallowfield, on Tuesday, the 16th of April. For seventeen years Alderman Plummer had represented the Corporation of the City of Manchester on the Council of Governors of this Library, where he was held in the highest esteem, by his colleagues and also by the officials of the institution.

Councillor W. R. Shepherd, who is Deputy-Chairman of the Manchester Public Libraries Committee, has been appointed by the City authorities to succeed Alderman Plummer as one of their two representatives on the governing body of the Library. It is perhaps worthy of remark that the other representative of the City is Alderman W. Davy, J.P., who is Chairman of the Manchester Public Libraries Committee.

CHANGES
IN THE
PERSON-
NEL OF THE
COUNCIL.

Professor James Tait, M.A., Litt.D., F.B.A., Honorary Professor of History of the University of Manchester, has been appointed by the Council of the University, as one of their representatives on the governing body of the Library, in succession to Professor F. M. Powicke.

Dr. Richard Godfrey Parsons, M.A., D.D., Bishop of Middleton, has been appointed a Co-optative Governor of the Library, to fill the vacancy caused by the resignation of Dr. William Temple, the Archbishop of York, in consequence of his removal from Manchester.

At the Commemoration of Founders' Day at the University of Manchester, on Wednesday, the 15th of May, a number of honorary degrees were conferred by the Chancellor, the Earl of Crawford and Balcarres.

FOUNDERS'
DAY AT
THE UNI-
VERSITY
OF MAN-
CHESTER.

The new doctors, who formed a very effective group of distinguished men, were presented to the Chancellor by Professor Alexander with his customary felicity.

The first to be presented, for the degree of Doctor of Divinity, was WILLIAM TEMPLE, the ARCHBISHOP OF YORK, who is still affectionately remembered as the Bishop of Manchester. "I present to you," were the words of Professor Alexander, "a man whose abilities have raised him with common applause to be an archbishop, at an age when men's names are shyly whispered at a vacant bishopric or deanery. Drawn to the spiritual life less by disturbance of soul than by a happy affinity of nature, and possessed by the large geniality which comprehends every human interest; without angles in his mental contour and, though born in the purple, yet unspoiled by it; with a passion to secure for the individual personality freedom and a fair chance to express itself; penetrating straight to the heart of his problems of government and impartial in his treatment of all sides of them: he has approved himself at once a prudent counsellor in the Church and outside of it, and fearless to meet extremities. His long and fruitful presidency of the Workers' Educational Association attests his concern for a very important province of academic influence. And along with all the labours which his amazing vitality has enabled him to sustain he has been an exuberant author, and is distinguished in particular in a philosophical enterprise in which admittedly it is a smaller merit to have succeeded than skilfully to have made the attempt."

As men of affairs, upon whom the degree of Doctor of Laws was conferred, there were two outstanding representatives: LORD COLWYN, who stands for finance and industry, and "who by sheer business capacity, by good sense and shrewdness, and unerring sanity of judgment has secured for himself the confidence of large industrial and financial interests in this city and elsewhere, and, being trusted equally by all political parties, has been charged by them with the chairmanship of innumerable important boards and commissions of State. The mere number and variety of these are sufficient witness

at once to his ability and to his unquenched zeal for the public service, and the substance of his reports attests his power of utilising and concentrating the best judgment of experts and advisers and moulding it into practical policies"; and : SIR PERCY ZACHARIAH COX, who represents the other side of our national responsibilities as an ideal administrator of those affairs which lie beyond the seas, and in regions where the English tradition of administration is liable to be faced with its sternest tests. When Iraq became a mandatory country under the League of Nations the right man was found in this eminent statesman. "His previous experience as a political officer in India and elsewhere had prepared him for his supreme task as High Commissioner at Bagdad, which was no less a task than creating, under the conditions of the mandate, an independent Arab State. How he performed the task is known to all from the letters of the great woman, Miss Gertrude Bell, who was a member of his official staff. He brought to his work the quality, as rare as it was essential, of infinite considerateness for the diverse views of the people he was called upon to mould into a nation, and the still rarer gift of silence, so that an Arab notable said of him that he had forty ears and only one tongue. Nor was the firmness of the soldier wanting when occasion required. Helped by the fortunate gift for constitutional statesmanship of the ruler whom the Arabs selected for their king, he established Iraq upon a solid basis, and when he retired from his office, to the general regret, was still able to help in securing her borders."

Then followed distinctions for two interpreters of life which lies around us : the degree of Doctor of Letters for Dr. ALLAN NOBLE MONKHOUSE, a member of the staff of the "Manchester Guardian," who interprets life through the art of letters, and the degree of Doctor of Laws for Professor ARTHUR LYON BOWLEY, who not only reads the riddle of its statistics but, who can make the answer to the riddle acceptable even to those who have not "the gift of mathematics."

In presenting Dr. Monkhouse Professor Alexander paid a well-earned tribute to the great service which he has rendered to literature. Dr. Monkhouse "has demonstrated how empty may be the antithesis that is commonly drawn between journalism and literature. His twenty long years of service in commerce and on 'Change before he was unearthed for the service of letters were no unfitting preparation

for that service, for he has carried into his art some of the characteristic features of the Lancashire man. Passionate for truth, he recognises her best, like a Northerner, under a grey sky. Not for him the pagan delight in colour and riot of indiscipline. Even the humour of his lighter studies of suburban life is grim and saturnine. And, as befits a Lancastrian, the first article of his artistic faith is economy. In a style all bone and sinew he practises to an eminent degree the reticence and restraint which so hardly achieves popularity, but is acknowledged as an unerring mark of one of the highest forms of art. And though he has won distinction by a series of novels, his greatest work has perhaps been done in the drama, where alone the real rigour of artistic economy is possible. In the days when drama flourished in our midst he was a leader in a band of theatrical critics, faithful and severe but generous judges of the merits of others. And he has been himself the model for a whole school of dramatists whose paternity he disclaims because, imitating only his own gaiety, they neglect his profounder moments."

Professor Bowley, the eminent statesman and economist of the London School of Economics, was for a long time the only academic teacher in this country of economic statistics, and still is the only professor of it. His chief work has been sociological in character, and has turned upon the study of the national income and its distribution, and by his treatment of it he has humanised it.

Science was represented by Sir RONALD ROSS, upon whom was conferred the degree of Doctor of Science. Sir Ronald Ross has been more successful in the true sense than many men of science can hope to be, for his researches into the origins of malaria have led directly to the alleviation of human suffering. To quote Professor Alexander : "In our day the mighty hunters before the Lord have been not so much those who armed with rifle stalk big game in tropical countries as those who with microscope and oil-immersion lens track down the microbes of human disease, and, having discovered them, devise the practical measures of protection against them and become benefactors of mankind. Sir Ronald Ross is one of the greatest of these Nimrods of the infinitesimal, who, after two long years of incessant examination of mosquitoes fed on the blood of malarious patients, detected the germ of malaria in the body of a mosquito with dappled wings ; and when in the end the suggestion of Manson, the great founder of tropical medicine, was confirmed, and it was proved that the infection was

spread only through the bites of these insects, showed how to protect the towns by suitable drainage and filling up or covering with a film of oil the waters which are their breeding-grounds. Where his advice has been followed or he has been able to overcome the obstinate incredulity and prejudice of officials and medical officers, at Ismailia or in the Malay Peninsula or in Sierra Leone, malaria has been enormously reduced and "Paradise was opened in the wild." His discoveries made possible for the Americans the piercing of the isthmus of Panama, and have increased a hundredfold to mankind the value of the tropics. A large part of his work was done while he was still lecturer or professor in the School of Tropical Medicine in the sister University of Liverpool.

We regret to have to record the death of Mr. William Henry Barker, who since 1922 had been Reader in Geography in the University of Manchester. The saddest feature of our friend's death is that so full and rich a life should be brought to a close before it had reached its prime, for he was born in August, 1882, and was therefore in his forty-seventh year.

WILLIAM
HENRY
BARKER.

Mr. Barker was one of the kindest of men, beloved alike by colleagues, students, and all those who came within the wide sphere of his influence. He was not only one of the keenest of students, but he was the ablest teacher of geography in the English-speaking world. One of the great achievements of his life was the founding of an honours school of geography in our University, at a time when the importance of the subject had not gained the recognition that might have been expected in an educational and commercial centre of the rank of Manchester. From a position of small importance the department became by reason of his unflagging zeal and courageous efforts one of the largest honours schools in the University.

The Manchester Geographical Society found in him one of its most vitalising agencies, for he combined the offices of honorary secretary, honorary editor, and lecturer; and under his guidance the "Journal" of the Society achieved a very notable reputation. Mr. Barker was recently elected to the Council of the Royal Geographical Society of London, an honour which he greatly prized. He was also for years the recorder of the Geographical section of the British Association.

In the history of geographical discovery Mr. Barker was an acknowledged authority, and the manuscript of a work on the development of cartography has been left nearly ready for publication. The collection of old maps which he organised in his department, largely through the generosity of Colonel Mills, is probably the finest in England outside the British Museum and the Bodleian. He has been responsible for a number of books and articles upon his subject, including a "Handbook of British Tropical Africa," and a number of text-books. The work on "Geography in Education and Citizenship" is an able statement of his geographical conceptions, and to many who were previously unfamiliar with the subject it proved, avowedly, to be nothing less than a revelation. He it was who conceived the idea of applying geographical principles to the study of the life of a great city. He made considerable use of the Rylands Library and it was at his instigation that the compilation of a list of the maps, manuscript and printed, whether published separately or buried in the hearts of volumes of travels and kindred works in our collections, was undertaken. This will make a very substantial volume when completed, which we shall hope to publish in due course.

The University of Manchester has suffered still another serious loss through the death of Dr. John Nicol Farquhar, Professor of Comparative Religion, which took place on the 17th of July, at his residence in Withington. Dr. Farquhar was a profound scholar in Indian studies, and a fervid missionary enthusiast. Prior to taking up his appointment in Manchester, in succession to Dr. Rhys Davids, Professor Farquhar spent over thirty years as a missionary in India under the L.M.S. and the Y.M.C.A. He devoted practically his life's work to a sympathetic interpretation of the religions of that country. A native of Aberdeen, Professor Farquhar was educated at the Grammar School and the University of Aberdeen, after which he proceeded to Christ Church, Oxford, where he had a distinguished career. In 1915 he published the work "Modern religious movements in India" for which Oxford awarded him the degree of D.Litt. In 1920 he brought out his monumental "Outline of the religious literature of India." It was in 1923 that he came to Manchester, but his heart was in India, and it was only under

PROFESSOR
JOHN
NICOL
FARQUHAR.

doctor's orders that he consented to leave India. For years he had traversed that great empire preaching and lecturing incessantly, and greatly influencing generations of students and others. Through his books and lectures on Hinduism he achieved a foremost place as a sympathetic exponent of the lights and shades of Indian religion. Indeed, it is not too much to say that Professor Farquhar's literary work has done more to build a bridge between the best in India and in the West than any other influence.

Readers may recall the interesting studies which Professor Farquhar contributed to the BULLETIN: "The Fighting Ascetics of India" (1925), "The Apostle Thomas in North India" (1926), and "The Apostle Thomas in South India," which will remain as a lasting memorial to his scholarship in the files of our periodical.

The Chair of History in the University of Manchester rendered vacant by the appointment of Professor F. M. Powicke to the Regius Chair of Modern History in the University of Oxford, has been filled by the appointment of Ernest Fraser Jacob, M.A., D. Phil. As Gladstone and Stanhope Prizeman, Fellow of All Souls College, Student of Christ Church, Oxford, Lecturer in Medieval History in King's College, London, for a time assistant editor of "History," joint-editor with G. C. Crump of "The Legacy of the Middle Ages" (1926), author of "Studies in the period of Baronial Reform and Rebellion, 1258-1267," which forms the eighth volume of "Oxford Studies in Social and Legal History" (1925), and of numerous contributions to historical periodicals, Dr. Jacob brings with him to Manchester a record for scholarship which will enable him worthily to maintain the tradition of exact scholarship of the Manchester School of History, the foundations of which were so well and truly laid by his predecessors Professor Tout and Professor Powicke.

APPOINTMENT OF PROFESSOR JACOB TO MANCHESTER UNIVERSITY.

We offer our hearty congratulation to the Reverend Dr. F. J. Powicke, M.A., Ph.D., upon the degree of Doctor of Divinity which has been conferred upon him by the University of Glasgow, in recognition, no doubt, of his work on the Cambridge Platonists, and Richard Baxter. Dr. Powicke has occupied a seat on the Council of Governors of this Library since 1911, and for thirty years he was Congregational Minister at Hatherlow, Cheshire. He has contributed a number of

DISTINCTION FOR THE REVEREND DR. F. J. POWICKE.

articles on Baxter to the BULLETIN, and yet another from his pen appears in the present issue.

We are delighted to hear of the proposal made by a group of the friends of Professor H. W. C. Davis to establish a permanent memorial of his work. It is suggested that this memorial should place on record Davis's threefold claim on the gratitude of his generation : his services to learning, his service to education, and his services to the State during the war, particularly in the War Trade Intelligence Department. This proposal will receive support from a very wide circle of his students and admirers. There are to-day countless men and women up and down the country who owe to his popular studies a first realisation that in the Middle Ages men and women lived lives that differed little from our own except in the strange trappings of their thoughts and the abject poverty of their surroundings. Manchester in particular owes much to his tenure of the Chair of Modern History in the University, where the influence of his generous lovable personality is still a fragrant memory. The signatories of the appeal include Professor S. Alexander, Professor Ernest Barker, Mr. H. A. L. Fisher, Warden of New College, Mr. Philip Guedalla, Mr. A. D. Lindsay, Master of Balliol, Sir Henry Miers, Professor F. M. Powicke, Sir Harry Reichel, Sir Arthur Steel-Maitland, Mr. H. W. Temperley, and Professor T. F. Tout. It is not too much to hope that the memorial fund will be sufficient, not only to give his sons the education he would have desired, but also to make provision for others to carry on his work in the University and College he so dearly loved.

A form of subscription is being circulated to his friends and pupils, copies of which, together with further information, may be obtained from Mr. Kenneth Bell, Honorary Secretary of the Davis Memorial Fund, Balliol College, Oxford.

The month of July marks an epoch in the history of the " Manchester Guardian " through the change in its editorial control which has just taken place ; and we desire to associate ourselves with the tributes of high regard which have been paid to Mr. C. P. Scott by his contemporaries throughout the world on the occasion of his withdrawal, at the age of eighty-three years, from the editorship of his great paper, after fifty-seven years of unremitting service.

MEMORIAL
TO PRO-
FESSOR H.
W. C. DAVIS.

"THE MAN-
CHESTER
GUAR-
DIAN."

Mr. Scott's editorship has been distinguished, not only by its unparalleled record in point of length, but by the great position which he has created for what was, when he assumed control of it, at the early age of twenty-seven years, a comparatively obscure provincial journal. This he has achieved by his fidelity through all these years to the principles for which he stood, and by his success in maintaining the high standard and prosperity of his paper during a period which has seen a complete transformation of daily newspapers both in form and in substance.

We are so much accustomed to the "Manchester Guardian" as we know it to-day, that there is a danger lest we should overlook the tremendous services which, especially during the last half century, it has rendered to the intellectual and social life of Manchester, in part by the high literary standard it has steadily maintained, but even more by its powerful advocacy of such unpopular causes as the Irish Question, the Boer War, and the Women's Suffrage, in the partisanship of which great risks were run to the full. It must be a source of great satisfaction to Mr. Scott, as he looks back, to realise that in each case the attitude which he maintained in face of the fiercest criticism has been abundantly justified.

One of the qualities to which Mr. Scott's success may be attributed was his *flair* for talent. He chose his staff with extreme care. It is said that he ransacked England from end to end in his quest of the man he wanted, and would search for months, even years, until he found him. In this way he was able to surround himself with a staff of brilliant writers. Not only did he know how to discover talent, he knew also how to use it.

Mr. Scott has always put first things first, and as a result his paper has been one of the chief instruments of education in the country, and has acquired a well-established reputation which is more than national, for it is international. You may disagree with the paper's politics, as one writer has remarked, but there is nothing wrong with its news; its leading article may be a nettle, but the cricket report and the book reviews are the dock growing from the same bed, whilst the market report is a thing without which Manchester could hardly draw breath. It is a paper that men of all shades of political opinion, who are interested in literature, art, and ideas can, and do, read with pleasure and profit.

In his journalistic life Mr. Scott has said many memorable things about the craft which he has adorned, some of which embody the underlying principles of his life. For example: "The primary office of the newspaper is the gathering of news" . . . "At the peril of its soul it must see that the supply is not tainted . . . comment is free but facts are sacred."

Mr. Scott is resigning the editorship, but fortunately he is not withdrawing his help and counsel from the paper. He is standing by, and will be a tower of strength to his son Mr. E. T. Scott, who succeeds him in the editorial chair.

The new editor, who is forty-five years of age, has given ample evidence of his fitness for the post he will now occupy. He was educated at Rugby, Oxford, and the London School of Economics. He paid two visits to Jamaica and spent some time as financial journalist in the offices of the "Glasgow Herald" and the "Daily News." In 1912 he joined the staff of the "Manchester Guardian," and when Mr. C. E. Montague gave up, three years ago, he was appointed chief leader writer.

Perhaps the best wish that can be offered to Mr. Scott upon his retirement, is, that for many years to come he may see his son and successor following in his father's footsteps, maintaining with dignity and force the high tradition, and adding lustre to the great name which the "Manchester Guardian" has acquired under his courageous and statesmanlike control.

The messages of respect and of affectionate admiration, which have been literally showered upon Mr. Scott from all parts of the world, were happily headed by one from the King in the following terms:—

"The King learns that you have resigned the editorship of the 'Manchester Guardian.' For fifty-seven years you have been responsible for the conduct of a great newspaper, and His Majesty, while regretting your resignation, congratulates you on an achievement which must surely be unique in the history of journalism."

Mr. Scott has been honoured many times, but the appropriate note has been struck by one writer, who applies to him Chamfort's phrase: "He has cared for honour not honours."

The following interesting communication has been made by the Rev. Dr. W. T. Whitley, which deals with the writer of the fictitious "Second Part of the Pilgrim's Progress," to which Dr. Harris made reference in his article in the last issue of the BULLETIN.

THE FICTITIOUS
SECOND
PART OF
THE
PILGRIM'S
PROGRESS.

T. S. AND HIS PUBLISHERS.—One line of exploration, available since in 1905 Edward Arber reprinted the "Term Catalogues," and followed on this very point with results published in 1916 and 1923, deserves to be traversed again, more carefully.

There were two or three people, between 1668 and 1704, who issued books signed only T. S. Some can be eliminated easily; with more care, Thomas Seymour may be dismissed, for he was chiefly interested in "The Book of Common Prayer," and avowed himself a lay member of the Church of England. The key seems to be an advertisement in November, 1694, by J. Taylor, that he sold for 6d, "Youth's Comedy, or The Soul's tryal and triumph. A dramatick Poem, with divers Meditations on several subjects, to help and encourage those that are seeking a Heavenly Country. By Mr. Thomas Sherwin, Author of Youth's Tragedy, and Divine Breathings."

"Youth's Tragedy" was published anonymously in 1671 through Francis Smith, the General Baptist bookseller; it was a poem drawn up by way of dialogue between Youth, the Devil, Wisdom, Time, Death, the Soul, the Nuncius; for the caution and direction of the younger sort. It was in a third edition by May, 1672.

In November, 1672, T. Barrell issued a larger work, "Divine Breathings," not ostensibly connected with the fourpenny pamphlet. In February, 1680, T.S. issued the second part of "Divine Breathings": it is just conceivable at this stage that as T.S. issued a second part of "Pilgrim's Progress" not intending to claim the authorship of that, so T.S. issued a second part of "Divine Breathings" without claiming the authorship of the first part. But the adjoining advertisement is of a third book, "Youth's Comedy . . . by T.S., the author of Youth's Tragedy." Remarkably enough, the next advertisements are of Bunyan's "Fear of God," of the fourth edition of Bunyan's "Pilgrim's Progress," and of Bunyan's "Mr. Badman"; all of T.S. and of Bunyan issued by Ponder.

In 1683 and 1684 appeared "The Second Part of the Pilgrim's Progress," by T.S. This did not come out through Ponder but through Thomas Malthus, who will need separate attention. It looks as if T.S. was conscious of an exceptional proceeding, and as if Ponder would not countenance it. When, in 1694, Sherwin avowed "Youth's Comedy," he had gone to yet another publisher, J. Taylor. And when an edition appeared in 1702, it was through W. Marshall. It seems possible that Sherwin had lost caste, and booksellers did not quite care to issue his books: of them and of him no more can be traced in Arber, nor has it proved possible to get other light on him directly.

His proceedings in 1683 and 1684 have not yet been stated fully. His "Second Part of the Pilgrim's Progress" was advertised in June, 1683, as in twelves. A second edition, octavo, was advertised in November. The second edition, with additions, twelves, was advertised at Easter, 1684. At the same time, Bunyan's "Holy War" had reached a second edition; and within a month Bunyan's own "Second Part of the Pilgrim's Progress" was published by Ponder. There was no further scope for T.S. on this line. Nor indeed did he ever write anything again that was advertised. However innocent and well-meant his intervention, it was suicidal.

Look next at the publisher who tempted or abetted him, Thomas Malthus, at the Sun in the Poultry. He had no long standing, having begun in November, 1682. But he had considerable enterprise: lives of Monmouth, Shaftesbury (two lives by different authors), Prince Rupert and Drake; sermons by Janeway, Wedderburn; a reprint of Buchanan's "Paraphrase of the Psalms"; a translation of the Mass-book; two pamphlets by James Jones, an influential Baptist minister in Southwark; an "Astronomical Prophet for twenty years ahead"; and "Fifteen Real Comforts of Matrimony," which ran to two editions. Malthus kept up this variety and has to his credit afterwards: "A Poetical Latin Paraphrase of Job," by William Hogg of Scotland, Du Veil's Latin commentary on the Acts, Lensden's "Compendium Biblicum," "Medulla Historiae Scoticae," Sibbald's "Scotia Illustrata," Thomas Burnet's "Hippocrates Contractus"; and Groenevelt's "Dissertatio Lithologia"; Nesse's "New Year's Gift for Children," a "Vindication of Owen," G. B.'s "Week's Preparation for a Sacrament" (taken over from

another publisher), Durham's "Commentary on the Revelation," and a reprint of Bernard's allegory, "The Isle of Man"; versions of Isocrates, Lucian, the conference between Bossuet and Claude, a Spanish novel, and an Italian book on physic; "The Civil Wars of Bantam in the East Indies," "The State of Jamaica in the West," and a story of the Bucaniers, with two books on Poland; three books by Tryon, "A Garden of English Words," "The Merchant's Daily Companion," and a reprint of Scarlett's "Style of Exchanges"; "A Whip for the Devil," "The Demon of Spraiton," "The London Bully" (two parts), "The Female World" (two or three editions), and "The Parliament of Women."

Malthus was in business less than four years, and unless it be in the gossiping pages of John Dunton, nothing was said about him. From internal evidence we might conjecture a poor Scot grinding out versions for him, and calling his attention to his learned compatriots; but there is no reason to identify him with Thomas Sherwin. The fresh point that emerges is the ambiguity or suggestiveness of his advertisements. With Janeway he foists in an extra sermon. After Bunyan's "Holy War," he puts out a "Holy War" (of Poland in 1069). Du Veil figures as "Metenois, S.T.D. ejusdemque professoris emeriti" when really he was a fugitive, no longer Roman Catholic but Baptist. He mildly calls Durham, "late minister at Glasgow," whereas he had died in 1658. He speaks of R.B., rector of Batcombe, though Richard Bernard had died in 1641. No downright liar, but just the sort of publisher who would welcome T.S. publishing a "Second Part of Pilgrim's Progress."

In the present issue we resume publication of the "Woodbrooke Studies" which were unavoidably interrupted in consequence of the serious indisposition of Dr. Mingana. Readers will be glad to know that Dr. Mingana's health has been completely re-established, evidence of which is to be found in the present continuation of his Texts and studies. The present *fasciculus* furnishes the text, translation and critical apparatus of an apocryphal story of the flight of the Holy Family into Egypt and of the life led in that country. The story purports to be a vision of Theophilus, who was Patriarch of Alexandria in A.D. 385-412, in which are gathered together the traditions or legends which were current in Egypt in his day.

WOOD.
BROOKE
STUDIES.

The story is found in varying forms of completeness in three manuscripts, two of which are contained in the Mingana collection, whilst the third is preserved in the Vatican Library. It is assumed that from relatively ancient times the Vision of Theophilus constituted an integral part of the apocryphal life of Christ and His Mother which was current in certain communities belonging to the West Syrian Church.

The story is published here for the first time, and students of early Christian literature will be grateful to Dr. Mingana for furnishing them with the text of yet another apocryphon relating to the life of Christ.

In our next issue we shall publish the first part of the "Apocalypse of Peter," in a Syrian recension, a section of which is found in an Ethiopic translation. The Syrian recension is found in only one manuscript which forms part of the Mingana collection (no. 70).

THE
APOCA-
LYPSE OF
PETER.

We propose to reproduce this manuscript in facsimile. It will be accompanied by an English translation and the usual critical apparatus by Dr. Mingana, and will run through the two or three subsequent issues of the BULLETIN. The first part deals with the creation of the angels, of Satan, and of Adam. It also describes the different functions of the heavenly beings, the creation of heaven, its situation in the order of the universe, and the Garden of Eden. A considerable portion of it deals with the Trinity, and the abode of God in what is called "The Pavilion of Light." Portions of it describe the torments of hell, and the pleasures of heaven. It furnishes also an horarium for the prayers and supplications of all the created beings.

The following titles represent a selection of the works which have been acquired for the library since the publication of our last issue, and will serve as an indication of the character of the additions which are constantly being made to the various departments of literature.

ACCES-
SIONS
TO THE
LIBRARY.

ART AND ARCHITECTURE : Arnold (Sir Thomas), "Painting in Islam : a study of the place of pictorial art in Muslim culture," Illus., 4to ; Strong (Eugénie), "Art in ancient Rome," 2 vols., 8vo ; Laurent (M.), "L'architecture et la sculpture en Belgique," 8vo ; Paris (P.), "La peinture espagnole depuis les origines jusqu'au début

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The following gifts have been received by the Library since the publication of our last issue. They include a number of very welcome additions to our shelves, several of which have been printed for private circulation, and therefore, it would have been impossible to obtain them through the customary channels of supply. We take this opportunity of recording and of emphasising our grateful thanks to the respective donors for these encouraging demonstrations of interest in the work and development of the Library.

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"Catalogue of the collection of English, Scottish, and Irish proclamations in the University Library, Goldsmiths' Library . . . London." 1928. Fol.

Mr. R. Adamson Parkyn has presented to the Library, for permanent custody, two large albums containing portraits of the chairman, provisional Committee, Council, Officers, MANCHESTER SHIP CANAL. and a number of the supporters of the great project of a Manchester Ship Canal. In a note prefixed to the first album it is stated that the first meeting in connection with the scheme was held at the house of Daniel Adamson (the Grandfather of the Donor) at "The Towers," Didsbury, on the 27th of June, 1882, and further enumerates the years of enquiry before the select committee of Parliament.

The portraits were collected by Mrs. Daniel Adamson, who was in touch with the principals of the undertaking, and who had them mounted and sumptuously bound in two oblong folio volumes.

The collection forms a valuable pictorial record of the men to whose vision and foresight Manchester owes the provision of this outlet to the sea.

In 1908 the Library acquired by bequest six volumes of transcripts and notes relating to Lancashire and Cheshire and four volumes of copies of inscriptions and notes relating to the history of the church of Bowdon, Cheshire, compiled by HANKINSON MANUSCRIPTS. the late Geo. H. Hankinson, Esq., of Woodlands Park, near Altrincham (see English MSS. Nos. 106, 107). The following additional MSS. of the late Mr. Hankinson have now been presented to the Library, under the will of Miss Annie Hankinson, recently deceased.

- (i) "Family records of the Hankinsons, sometime of Hale, in the parish of Bowdon and County of Chester." 3 vols.

- (ii) "Copies of inscriptions on the gravestones in the churchyard and church of Barlaston, in the County of Stafford, with extracts from books, documents, etc." Also "Additional notes on the families named . . . with an account of the new church." 2 vols.
- (iii) "Extracts from the Parish Registers with copies of the principal monumental inscriptions in the church and churchyard of Criccieth, and extracts from the Registers of Ynyscynhaiarn, both in the County of Carnarvon." A reprint of the paper by J. Paul Rylands, F.S.A., in "The Genealogist" (old series) vii. p. 156; together with "Addenda to the foregoing extracts," by Geo. H. Hankinson. 1 vol.
- (iv) Miscellaneous papers, consisting of
 - (a) A paper on Ringway church (Bowdon), and biographical notes upon the Rev. Thomas Whitaker, perpetual curate of Ringway chapel, 1785-1818.
 - (b) Plan, with some notes, of strips of old town land adjacent to Dunham Road, Altrincham.
 - (c) Notes relating to the family of Samuel Hibbert († 1815), and the families of Bagnall or Bagenhall, Tomlinson and Ashcroft. Several copies of wills are included.

We have, also, gratefully to acknowledge the welcome gift of a cheque of five pounds, as a contribution to the funds of the Library, from Miss Gertrude Hewitt, who, on a previous occasion, manifested her interest in the work of the Library in a similar manner.

LEAVES FROM AN ANATOLIAN NOTEBOOK.

By W. M. CALDER, LL.D.

PROFESSOR OF GREEK IN THE UNIVERSITY OF MANCHESTER.

A. INTRODUCTORY.

ON four occasions during the past five years the Council of the University of Manchester has placed me at the disposal of the American Society for Archæological Research in Asia Minor, which is at present engaged in the urgent and necessary work of recording and publishing the ancient monuments which survive above the surface of the soil in Asia Minor. Necessary, because these monuments are both important and very inadequately known; urgent because, in the reconstruction of Turkey, many of them are doomed to destruction. A brief account of the progress of the American Society's work, and a few notes on some of its results, will not be out of place in the BULLETIN of the John Rylands Library in the city of Manchester.¹

In the spring of 1924, while Great Britain was still technically at war with Turkey—the fact deserves to be recalled to illustrate the spirit in which the Turkish government, and the Turkish peasants, have welcomed the various expeditions sent out by the Society—a party consisting of Mr. W. H. Buckler of Baltimore, Md., Mr. C. W. M. Cox of New College, Oxford, and myself undertook a trial trip in two districts of Asia Minor. Setting out first from Konia, we made an excursion into the Isaurian mountains, returning by Lake Trogitis, Beyshehir, and Yonuslar. We next visited a large part of the “devastated area” of the Greco-Turkish operations of 1922, surveying most of the territory between Eumeneia and Cotiaëum. We recorded over 250 monuments, which have been published in the *Journal of Roman Studies*, Vols. XIV to XVIII. The work of

¹ This paper incorporates the substance of a lecture, illustrated by lantern slides, delivered in the John Rylands Library on Dec. 12th, 1928.

this expedition showed that much fresh material remained to be discovered in districts already visited by many archæologists. It also showed that a careful re-examination of many monuments already known, and their reproduction in mechanical facsimile, was both necessary and profitable.

In the autumn of 1924, Professor Adolf Wilhelm and Dr. Josef Keil, of Vienna, conducted an expedition in Western Cilicia. They surveyed several sites and recorded some 600 inscriptions.

In the spring of 1925, a party consisting of Mr. R. K. Law of St. John's College, Oxford, Mr. Philip MacDougall of Manchester University, and myself began a systematic survey of the monuments of Eastern Phrygia, beginning at Iconium. The season's work included excursions along the Phrygo-Lycaonian borderland, over the territory of Laodicea Combusta, and in the hill-country north-east of Afium Kara Hissar. We recorded 439 monuments, which form the contents of the first volume of the American Society's publications, *Monumenta Asiae Minoris Antiqua*, Vol. I. (Manchester University Press).

In the spring of 1926, Mr. W. H. Buckler, Mr. R. Pares, of All Souls College, Oxford, and I surveyed the principal ancient sites in Lycaonia, and afterwards made an excursion into the villages of the Axylon. The work done by the expedition of 1928—it consisted of Mr. A. P. Sinker, of Jesus College, Cambridge, Mr. A. MacLehose of New College, Oxford, and myself—rounded off the work of the expeditions of 1925 and of 1926, and covered the ground between Laodicea and Hadrianopolis on the south, and Drya and Orcistus on the north. The monuments recorded in 1926 and in 1928 amounted in each case to about 450.

Reference should also be made to two independent expeditions conducted by Mr. C. W. M. Cox, travelling as Craven Fellow in the University of Oxford, in 1925 and 1926. Those expeditions surveyed the Tembris Valley, the territory of Aezani, and the little-known Mysian-Phrygian borderland. They recorded over 1200 monuments, most of them previously unknown, and many of them of great interest.

B. AN EARLY CHRISTIAN PROFESSIONAL ATHLETE.

The most famous early-Christian cities are not always the most kindly to the Christian archæologist. Rome claims the premier place

on both counts ; but if I had to draw up a list of the early-Christian cities whose material remains have proved most instructive to the historian of the Church in the first four centuries of its development, the next five or six places would be filled by towns in Phrygia hardly known, even as names, to Ecclesiastical history. Of these five or six towns three, Hieropolis, Laodicea Combusta, and Eumeneia would be strong candidates for the second place. Hieropolis, whose very existence had been forgotten until, in our own lifetime, it was restored to History by coins and inscriptions, has given us the epitaph of its bishop Avircius Marcellus, the first known Christian tombstone set up in a surface cemetery for all to see, and the unchallenged queen of all Christian inscriptions. Laodicea—distinguished by its title “Combusta” from the “lukewarm” city on the Lycus—has yielded inscriptions which introduce us to two of its bishops and a village presbyter who were martyrs in the Great Persecution, and go on to present the unique picture of an early-Christian town which harboured four separate communities of heretics—or, if you prefer it, four separate non-conformist denominations—in the fourth century of our era. Standing in such company, Eumeneia clearly claims to be a place of some interest to the Christian archæologist.

In July, 1924, we—Mr. Buckler, Mr. Cox and I—approached the early-Christian city of Eumeneia, not, as pilgrims should, on foot or on camel-back, but in an English train. The actual site of Eumeneia is two hours' ride from rail-head at Chivril, the head of a branch of the Smyrna-Egerdir railway ; but the monuments of Eumeneia lie scattered all over the plain, and we spent five rapid days speeding from village to village in a country *araba*, returning each evening to our camp at Chivril. Here is part of a typical day's work.

An hour from Chivril we passed through the village of Baljik Hissar, exactly four Roman miles from Ishekli, the site of Eumeneia. In the cemetery we photographed a milestone, bearing the number iv., of the Emperor Decius,¹ who ordered a persecution of the Christians in A.D. 249.

While my companions dealt with the milestone of Decius, I proceeded to Emirjik, and made an impression of a small marble

¹ *J.R.S.*, xvi., 1926, p. 64, no. 184.

relief brought me by a villager. It is decorated with the double axe or *labrys*, which was a characteristic symbol in the early cults of south-western Asia Minor, and which gave its name to the "Labyrinth" of King Minos in Crete. The dedication runs: "Alexandros, son of Sosipatros, to the god Apollo whose temple is before the city, a vow. I thank thee that thou didst not desert me (or preserve me . . ."; the remainder is obscure).¹ The lettering is similar to that of other Eumeneian inscriptions dated in the third century of our era.

On our way to Baljik Hissar we had passed an old *türbe* or Moslem mausoleum, built over the grave of a holy man. High in the wall there is a Greek inscription, correctly copied from the ground by earlier epigraphists. The peasants helped us to man-handle our wagon up the steep incline to within a few feet of the wall, and it proved possible, by piling stones on the driver's seat, to get a fair photograph of the lettering. The lettering places this inscription about the middle of the third century of our era. It runs: "Permission is given to Ammia and Tatiane to be buried beside their husbands in this part of the vault on condition that they shall not have deserted God. They have permission, if anything happens to a child of theirs, to bury it here. But none other may be buried in these vaults except those mentioned. If anyone so attempt, he shall pay to the council a fine of. . . ." The rest is broken away.² The Greek verb which I have translated "do not desert" here is the same as that translated "did not desert" in the vow to Apollo quoted above.

Lying on the hillside at Ishekli we found a Christian gravestone, whose epitaph was copied complete by two previous epigraphists, but had now been hacked away as a Moslem protest against the devastation of Ishekli by a Christian army in 1922. We made an impression of the few surviving words to establish the shape of the letters, which date about the middle of the third century of our era, or a little later. The epitaph, when complete, ran: "To the blessed

¹ *J.R.S.*, xvi., 1926, p. 66, no. 187. Ἀλέξ[ανδ]ρος [Σω]σιπάτρου [θε]ῶ Ἀπόλ[λωνι] προφυλέω εὐχὴν· εὐχαρ[ισ]τῶ σοι ὅτι τῇ[ς] πλε(υ)ράς (?) ἄπον[όν] (?) με ἐτήρησε[ς].

² *Ibid.*, p. 57, no. 176. ἰς τὸ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἡρώων ἔξον εἶ[ν]αι τεθῆναι [Ἀ]μμια καὶ Τατιανῇ πρὸς τοὺς ἀνδρας ἐὰν τηρῇ[σ]ωσι τὸν Θεόν, ἔξο[υ]σίαν ἐχόντων μ[έ]χ[ρι] ζῶσι ἐὰν τι πάθῃ τέκνον αὐτῶν ἐπεμ-βάλλαι κ.τ.λ.

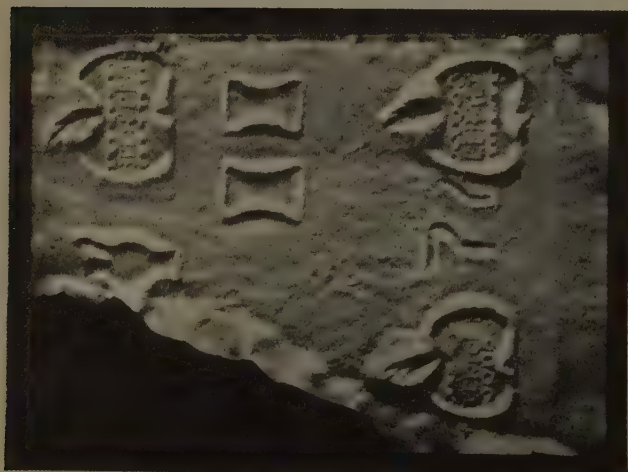
dead. Aurelius Eutyches, son of Hermes, also called Helix, a Eumeneian and a citizen of other cities, of the tribe Hadrianis, a member of the city council and of the board of elders, made the grave for himself and his most reverend and dearest wife Marcella and their children. And if anyone else shall attempt to lay a corpse herein, he shall have to reckon with the Living God.”¹

If I had to select four monuments to illustrate the position of the third-century Church in any town of the Roman Empire, I could not improve on these four inscriptions, picked up by the wayside in the course of a single day's work at Eumeneia. The first two place vividly before our eyes the two most important factors in the religious situation which confronted the Church. The imperial name on the milestone reminds us that the indifference or contemptuous tolerance with which most of the Roman Emperors regarded the “Christian superstition” was liable at a given moment to be thrown aside by a Decius, who offered the Christians a choice between sacrifice to the Emperor and persecution. The vow to Apollo reminds us that the old pagan temples still retained their hold on the loyalty of a large section of the population, who could be incited to a man-hunt among their Christian neighbours when a Decius gave the word. In such surroundings it does not surprise us to find that our third and fourth inscriptions are each marked as Christian by an unobtrusive touch. In Greek, the word *θεός* meant both “god” and “God,” and the epithet “living” was applied to the deity both by pagans and by Christians; the appeal to the “Living God” on the tombstone of the Christian Helix was not calculated to challenge pagan susceptibilities. And the provision that Ammia and Tatiane were to be buried beside their husbands only “on condition that they do not desert God” can hardly be called a provocative confession of the Christian faith.

It has long been known—the arguments need not be repeated here²—that Aurelius Helix was a Christian; in the course of that day's work at Eumeneia we discovered that he was one of the most

¹ Ramsay, *C.B.*, p. 522, no. 364 (cf. *J.R.S.*, xvi., 1926, p. 80, no. 204). *Εὐμόροις. Αὐρ. Εὐτύχης Ἑρμο[ῦ] ἐπὶ κληνῇ Ἑλῖξ, Εὐμενεὺς καὶ ἄλων (sic) πόλ[ε]ων πολεΐτης, φυλῆς Ἀδριανίδος, βουλευτῆς καὶ γερεός, κατεσκεύασεν τὸ ἡρώον ἑαυτῷ καὶ τῇ σεμνοτάτῃ καὶ προσφιλεστάτῃ γυναικί μου Μαρκέλλῃ καὶ τοῖς ἑαυτῶν τέκνοις. εἴ τις δὲ ἕτερος ἐπιχειρήσει θειναί τινα, ἔσται αὐτῷ πρὸς τὸν ζῶντα Θεόν.*

² Ramsay, *C.B.*, p. 496 ff., etc.



(A) TOMBSTONE OF A CHRISTIAN ATHLETE.
[See page 239.]



(B) A MONTANIST TOMBSTONE.
[See page 267.]

interesting and significant of all the early Christians whom the ancient graveyards of Phrygia have given up. The Greek army, when it burned Ishekli, did Christian History a service in demolishing the house into whose wall this monument had been built when our predecessors saw it. The stone now lay free on the hillside, and we could study its sides. On the right side of the altar-shaped tombstone were a hammer and tongs, showing that Aurelius Helix was a blacksmith—this method of indicating a trade or profession is well known to students of Greek and of Roman epigraphy. On the left side (Plate A) were an oil vase, a pair of dumb-bells and two strigils, accompanied by three symbols, inscribed with the names of three cities, whose significance was not at first clear to us. The cities were Sebaste and Stektorion, each within a day's journey of Eumeneia, and Brundisium in Italy; and these were evidently the "other cities" of which Helix was said in his epitaph to be a citizen. But the symbols? In the autumn of 1924 Mr. Cox visited the Archæological Institute in Vienna and showed a photograph of this monument to Dr. Josef Keil, who was able to explain the meaning of the symbols. He had noted similar symbols on a Lydian sarcophagus discovered by himself, and had collected references to further examples on Lydian coins. The symbols, indeed, represent either crowns given to victors in the games, or, more probably, the purses in which prize-money was handed to successful athletes. We know a number of cases in which distinguished athletes were made citizens of city after city in whose games they had contended; and it is now clear that Aurelius Helix, who about A.D. 250 placed his grave under the protection of the "Living God," was a "professional athlete," who took prizes in pagan athletic contests in Phrygia and in Italy, and the first of a long line of Christian blacksmith athletes. This is in itself a very interesting fact; but it is also a fact of enormous symptomatic importance. The term *ἀθλητής* has a connotation of its own in early-Christian history, for it was the term applied by the Christians themselves to those "victors in the games" who fought the good fight in the arena or at the stake. But it is a far cry from the Roman Coliseum to Eumeneia; and the epitaph of Helix is only the most startling of many reminders that the orthodox Christianity of the eastern provinces, during the period of persecution, was of a very different type from that which we meet in the martyrologies and in the "other-worldly" seclusion of the

Catacombs. The inscriptions of Phrygia project much of what we associate with later times into the pre-Nicene period. They introduce us to Christians holding municipal office, serving in the army, and generally sharing the social and political life of their pagan neighbours. Aurelius Helix, who competed and took prizes at pagan athletic festivals, and placed his grave under the protection of the Living God, was unconsciously making history.

C. A REVISED TEXT.

I have mentioned that further study, in mechanical facsimile, of many monuments already well known is both necessary and profitable. I will give an example.

At Kürd Köi, in the upper Tembris valley,¹ near the fountain, there stands a limestone altar inscribed on three sides. It stood over a family grave, and the metrical epitaphs carved on it introduce us to four generations of a rustic Phrygian family, in the later third and early fourth centuries. These epitaphs were first copied by Perrot, whose transcription is familiar to scholars in Kaibel's *Epigrammata Graeca*, no. 372. It was afterwards copied by Ramsay and by Anderson, whose copies were used by Fraser in the improved version published in *Studies in the E.R. Provinces*, p. 138 ff. When Mr. Cox and I visited Kürd Köi in 1924, we assumed that an inscription already copied by three excellent epigraphists need not detain us, and we satisfied ourselves by photographing and measuring the stone, and testing some restorations which had suggested themselves since Fraser's publication. In the winter of 1924-1925 the text of the inscription was prepared for publication substantially in the form given it in *Studies in the E.R. Provinces*, with some minor supplements.

In 1926, Mr. Cox was again in the Tembris valley, and had undertaken to verify the new supplements on the stone. I have said that three sides of the altar are inscribed. The inscription on the front of the altar is the epitaph of Trophimus, son of Eutyches, described as σοφίης διδάσκαλος ἔν(ν)ομος, who speculates on the after life in language suggesting that he was a pagan, but a pagan who had been giving some thought to the subject. The 34 lines of this inscription are substantially complete ; four lines only are lost beyond recovery.

¹ See *J.R.S.*, xvii., 1927, p. 49 ff., no. 230.

Carved on the right side of the altar is the epitaph of Tatia, wife of Trophimus. This epitaph is practically complete, and the text of its 22 lines is certain throughout. It is dedicated by Telesphorus, son of Trophimus and Tatia, who refers to his son-in-law Kyriakos and his daughter Nonna, both Christian names.

On the left side of the altar is a third epitaph, consisting of 45 lines. Of these lines, 24 were copied—not very successfully—by Perrot; Fraser published a more correct version of the first 21 lines from Ramsay's and Anderson's copies. From the older copies it was clear that this side of the altar contained the epitaph of Ammia, daughter of Telesphorus and Ammia, and grand-daughter of Trophimus. Ammia is apostrophised by her parents as follows :

Ἀμμία θυγάτη(ρ) πινυτή, πῶς θάνες ἤδη;
 τί σπεύδουσ' ἔθανες, ἣ τίς σ' ἐκίχῃσατο Μοιρῶν,
 πρίν σε νυνφικὸν ἰστέφανον κοσμήσαμεν ἢν θαλάμοισιν,
 πάτρην σε λιπὶν πευ[θ]αλέους δὲ τοκῆας;
 κλήμ σε πατήρ κ- πᾶσα πάτρ[η] κ- πότνια μήτηρ
 τῇ(ν) σῇ[ν] ἀωρότηταν κ- ἀθαλάμευ[τον] ἡλικίην.
 τῆς δ' ἀναφθενξαμ[έ]νη ψυχῇ(ν) Ἀμμιαο θανούση[ς]
 δάκρυα θερμὰ χέουσα παρί[σ]τατο πατρὶ αἰδὲ τεκούση,
 τ]ῇν οἷστρος θανάτοιο λάβεν, ἐννῆμαρ δὲ θανούσα
 λεξαμένη καθ' ὕπνους παρηγο[ρ]ίην θανάτοιο.
 μὴ κλῆς, πάτερ[ρ] πολυώδυνρε, μηδὲ σύ, μήτηρ.
 ἐν τέλος ἐστὶν τὸ πᾶσιν ὀφιλ[ό]μενον.

Such, arranged in its uncouth hexameters, and in all the nakedness of its rustic spelling and composition, is the true text of the first twenty (epigraphic) lines of the inscription. "Ammia, wise daughter" say her parents "why did you die so soon? Why did you hasten to your death, or what fate overtook you, before we had arrayed you in your chamber with the bridal garland, that you thus leave your town and your mourning parents? Your father and lady mother and all the town weep for you, for your untimely end and unwedded youth. And the soul of dead Ammia—she who had been seized with a mad desire to die—spoke up and weeping hot tears stood by her father and mother, and on the ninth day after death she spoke to them in sleep and consoled them for her death: Weep not, afflicted father, nor you, mother. There is one end that must come to all. . . ."

Below these lines the surface of the stone is worn, and baffled the

earlier copyists. Mr. Cox had undertaken to make an impression of all three sides of the altar ; and in 1926 he brought home a "squeeze" of the next twenty lines of Ammia's epitaph, and a copy of six further lines at the bottom of the altar, which the squeeze-brush had failed to reach.

At first sight the case seemed desperate. Individual words could be made out with certainty, but they appeared to have no possible connection with the sense of the preserved portion of Ammia's consolatory address. Then Mr. W. H. Buckler solved the riddle of the epitaph by reading the words *Ναυατῶν ἀγίων* in lines 31 and 32 ; and the joint testimony of five experienced epigraphists¹ guarantees the following sequel to Perrot's and Fraser's lines :

δῶρα πάτρης ἔλαβ[ον] συν(η)λικίης τε ἀπάσης,
 δῶρ[ά] τ' ἀλεγινῶν κ' πενθαλέου θαν[ά]τοιο·
 ἀλλ' ἔμ' ἐδικέ[ω]σ[ε] [σω]τῆ[ρ] ἐ[μ]ὸς Ἰησοῦ[ς] Χρ[ιστ]ός·
 [έώνιον] ἡματι τοῦ[τ]ω [κ]ύδ[ος] ὀνηθεῖ[σα]·
 διὰ πρ[ε]σβυτέρου [υ]χειρ[ῶν] β[ά]πτισμα λαβοῦ[σα]
 ἔνδικον τιμὴν παρθενίης·
 ἀγνή παρθένος ἦλθον πίστιν ἀπ[ι]ν[ο]ῦ[σα]·
 φῶς ἀέναον ἔχο[υ]σα Ναυατῶν ἀγίων δὲ [μ]ένουσα·
 π[α]τ[ήρ] γὰρ ἐμὸς πολύοκνος αἰδέ[ε]ται μῆτηρ ἀργή
 μορμύξαντες [ἄ]την ἐμ[ήν] νεκ[ο]ῦσι·
 παρθενίην Χριστῷ γὰρ ἐκδ[οῦ]σα πενθ[ος] ἄτλητον ἔθηκ[α].
 κ(λ)αῦσέ με κασιγνήτη Νοῦα βαρ(υ)πενθὰς ἐκίνη,
 ἦν χήραν ἐλέλιπτο γαμβρ[ο]ς Κυριακὸς ἐμῖο.
 ζευκτὸν γαμερ[ὸν] πρόλιπον ὃν μοι

This brings us to l. 41 of the epigraphic text ; there follow, after a gap, the names of some relatives.

The continuation of Ammia's address may be freely rendered as follows :

"I received the gifts of my native town and of all my age-fellows ; also the gifts of sorrow and of a mournful death. But my Saviour, Jesus Christ, justified me ; [on this day I have won glory everlasting ?] ; at the Presbyter's hands I received baptism, virginity's lawful prerogative ; I came (to heaven) a pure virgin, [keeping ?] my faith [unsullied ?] having light eternal, and continuing among the Novatian saints. For

¹ See the commentary in *J.R.S.*, loc. cit.

my slothful father and sluggard mother sought to scare me and [up-braided ?] my [infatuation ?] ; for by espousing my virginity to Christ I brought them sorrow insufferable. My sister Non(n)a, that sorrowing one, whom my brother-in-law Kyriakos left a widow, wept for me. I left the betrothed bride-groom whom to me. . . ."

In the above rendering, conjectural restorations are marked by queries in square brackets ; the general sense of the inscription, and most of the detail, are in no sense conjectural.

Ammia had been betrothed. She fell under the influence of a presbyter and decided to be baptised into, and take vows in, the Novatian sect. Her father and mother tried to scare her (*μορμύξαντες*) ; a "mad desire to die" (*οἷστρος θανάτοιο*) came over her, and she hurried to her death (*τί σπεύδουσ' ἔθανες* ;). Her parents, who dedicate the epitaph, are now filled with remorse. She appears to them in their sleep to console them ; and they represent her as saying the things which troubled their conscience (*πατὴρ πολύοκνος, μήτηρ ἀργή*). Clearly the parents who engraved this poem on their daughter's grave were Christians.

And so the family epitaph of Trophimus, formerly treated as a hackneyed piece of rustic versification, turns out on re-examination to be one of the two or three most remarkable of all early-Christian inscriptions, and absolutely unique in its kind. "It introduces us to four generations of a rustic Phrygian family, probably passing from paganism to Christianity, certainly passing from the age of persecution to the peace of the Church ; and it carries back into the actual Christian history of the Nicene age a situation which has often figured in legend and in literary fiction—the marriage arranged by unimaginative parents, the priest, the decision of the young daughter to take vows, the divided home, the tragic death of the daughter, and the parents' remorse."¹

D. MORE ANATOLIAN HERETICS.

The quotation with which the previous section concludes goes on : "And it adds still another to the small but growing group of heretical inscriptions which Asia Minor continues to yield." This sentence was written in 1926 ; I can now, with the kind help of Mr. Cox, make further additions to the group.

¹ *J.R.S.*, loc. cit., p. 53 f.

In two papers¹ published in 1923 I attempted to collect the inscriptional relics of the various heretical sects which flourished in Asia Minor from the second to the fourth century of our era. The heretical inscriptions collected in these two papers came mainly from two districts, the upper Tembris valley, and the district of Laodicea Combusta in eastern Phrygia. Both districts have since then produced further heretical documents. I will begin with those from Laodicea Combusta.

In 1924, Professor David M. Robinson was excavating at Sisma, in a valley in the mountain-range overlooking Laodicea Combusta. He visited various villages in the neighbourhood; and at Nevine, on the territory of Laodicea, he copied the following double epitaph, carved in the two panels of a family tombstone:² (a) Αὐρ. Ἀντώνιος Μίρου ἄμα τῇ ἑαυτοῦ θία Ἑλα[φ]ίη διακονίσση [τῶν Ἐν]κρατῶν [ἀνεστήσ]αμεν; (b) Ἑλαφία διακόνισσα τῆς Ἐνκρατῶν θρισκίας ἀνέστησα τῷ πρβρ. Πέτρῳ ἄμα τῷ ἀδελφῷ αὐτῷ Πολυχρονίῳ μνήμης χάριν. This Encratite tombstone rounds off the list of heretical communities mentioned in Basil's two "canonical" epistles to Amphilochius, bishop of Iconium (A.D. 375) and also mentioned on the inscriptions of Laodicea Combusta.³

Our first excursion in 1928 led us through the territory of Laodicea Combusta, and we seized the opportunity to visit Nevine and secure a good photograph and an impression of this monument. On our further course through Laodicean territory we deviated from the main road to Tyriaeum in order to visit the valley of Kestel, which I had been unable to visit in 1925.

When we arrived at Kunderaz, near Kestel, the villagers showed us a "doorstone" of limestone which had just been dug up near the village by a man excavating for building material. In the four panels of the "door" were carved a knocker, a keyplate, a basket, a spindle-and-distaff. On the borders of the "door" there was a zig-zag pattern. The stone had had a pediment, which was broken away.

¹ "The Epigraphy of the Anatolian Heresies," *Anatolian Studies*, p. 59 ff.; "Philadelphia and Montanism," *BULLETIN OF THE JOHN RYLANDS LIBRARY*, vii., 1923, p. 309 ff., also published separately by the M.U.P.

² *Trans. Amer. Phil. Ass.*, lvii., 1926, p. 195 ff., nos. 2 and 3.

³ *Anatolian Studies*, p. 69 ff.

It measured 1·14 in. in height, 0·59 in. in width, 0·49 in. in thickness. Above the "door" was the following inscription (letters 0·015 in.).

Με[ί]ρος Ἀεντίνου τῷ[ν] Ἐνκ[ρ]α[τ]ῶν
 ζῶν κὲ φρονῶν ἀνέστ[η]σεν ἑαυτ-
 ῶ τε κὲ τῇ ἀνεψία Τατα [κ]ἔ τῶ ἀδε[λ-]
 φῶ Παύλῳ κὲ ἀδελφῇ Πρ[ι]βι μνήμ-
 ης χάριν. εἰ δέ τις τῶν οἰν[ο]-
 ποτῶν ἐπενβάλη εἴσχι πρὸς τὸν
 Θ(εὸ)ν καὶ Ἰη(σο)ῦ(ν) Χ(ριστό)ν.

Mirus, son of Aventinus, of the Encratites, prepared a grave for himself and for various relatives, and, like a good Phrygian, added a provision regulating the use of the grave, and providing for its protection. Into this provision he intrudes an expression which reminds us that the early Christians were already giving attention to a matter which is still a live issue, the use of wine in the Eucharist. The Encratites, like some other ascetic sects, were extreme teetotalers, and substituted water for wine even in the Eucharist.¹ This is the point of the quaint formula used by Mirus on his gravestone: "And if any of the wine-bibbers intrudes a corpse, he has to deal with God and Jesus Christ."² The epitaph is roughly contemporary with Epiphanius' *Panarion* (ca. A.D. 375), in which the intolerant teetotalism of the Encratites is trounced. Mirus, of the Encratites, adopts a novel method of replying to such orthodox criticism.

We visited the Byzantine fort called Bedel Kale, on a steep hill near Kestel, to which the population of the valley used to retire when an Arab foray passed the Cilician Gates. Its walls, now in ruins, were largely built of squared blocks, of the Roman Imperial period, carried up the hill from sites in the neighbourhood. On one of these blocks (grey limestone) we found an inscription complete above, on the left, and below, broken off along the right side. It is uncertain how many letters are lost; the following transcription is provisional. The measurements are: H. of block, 0·55 m.; h. of inscription, 0·44 m.; w. of block, 0·42 m.; average w. of inscription, 0·28 m.; th. 19 m.; letters 0·035 to 0·04 m.

¹ *Anatolian Studies*, p. 73.

² For the form of the apodosis, see *Monumenta Asiae Minoris Antiqua*, I., no. 169.

Γάιος πρεσ[β. σὺν καὶ τοῖς
 συνπρεσβυ[τέροις τοῦ τῶν
 Ἀποτακτιτῶ[ν μο-
 ναστηρίου λό[γον ποιούμενοι
 5 τῶν ἐντολῶ[ν
 ΔΗΚΑΤΟΤΟΠΡ[.
 ἀνεστήσα[μεν ἐ-
 αυ]τῶν τε κα[ὶ μνήμης
 χά]ριν.

The sect called Ἀποτακίται by Basil and Ἀποτακτικοί by Epiphanius is mentioned on a Laodicean inscription published in *Anatolian Studies*, page 86 (for a facsimile see *Monumenta Asiae Minoris Antiqua*, I., no. 173); it is a tombstone dedicated to a πρεσβύτερος of the Apotactites by two πρεσβύτεροι who were his successors. The new epitaph refers to a society of πρεσβύτεροι living in an Apotactite monastery; the gap in l. 3 was doubtless filled by an adjective agreeing with μοναστηρίου. Every letter in the preserved part of the inscription is certain, and guaranteed by a photograph and an impression. Unfortunately the exact length of the lines cannot be determined.

These three inscriptions should be added to the list of Laodicean *haereticae* published in *Anatolian Studies*. Some of the latter have been republished in facsimile in *Monumenta Asiae Minoris Antiqua*, Vol. I., nos. 171-176. The presence of heretics in this region is also reflected *ibid.* no. 290, dedicated by Longus πατρὶ Γερμανοῦ εὐλαβεστάτῳ πρεσβυτέρῳ τῆς ἁγίας ἐκκλησίας τῶν Ὀρθοδόξων. See also the note *ibid.* no. 233.

In the BULLETIN OF THE JOHN RYLANDS LIBRARY, vii., 1923, p. 309 ff. (*Philadelphia and Montanism*, M.U.P.), I collected the "Christians to Christians" inscriptions of the Tembris valley, and argued at some length that they were the epitaphs of a community of Montanists. Had I been aware of the existence of an inscription to which Professor H. Grégoire called my attention after this article was published, assertion could have taken the place of argument. As Professor Grégoire pointed out in *Byzantion*, Vol. I., 1924, p. 708, the following inscription from Dorylaeum places the Montanist character of the "Christians to Christians" epitaphs beyond doubt.

Π + Π

Λουπικῖνος Μουντάνη
 συνβίω Χρειστιανῇ
 πνευματικῇ μνήμης
 χάριν

Grégoire is certainly right in interpreting the two capital letters above the inscription as Π(νευματικὸς Π(νευματικῇ)). It is, as he says, "la seule inscription ouvertement montaniste, *phanero-montaniste*, que nous possédions."

Another epitaph, which ought to have been discussed in *Philadelphia and Montanism*, was that published in *Ath. Mitt.*, xxii., 1897, p. 353, no. 4 as from Aezani. Mr. Cox and I have since seen this monument in a private collection at Bostanjik on the Sea of Marmora. Mr. Cox, who has made an exhaustive survey of the ancient monuments in a wide area south and west of Cotiaeum, informs me that the *schema* is unlike everything he has seen in the Aezanitis, but has certain affinities with the artistic style of the Gediz region (anc. Kadoi). The text runs : Αὐξάνων Τρύφωνι πατρὶ κὲ Α(ὺ)ξανούση μητρὶ ἔτι ζώση μνη(ς) χάριν. Χρησ(τ)ιανοί. The text is complete. The final word is rudely carved in large letters, by a different hand, under the neat lettering of the epitaph, and is clearly a later addition. The stone may have been an old one, re-used to cover a Montanist grave ; or the word "Christians" may have been added, in circumstances at which we can only guess, to an epitaph originally Montanist. A quaint feature of the decoration is a horse approaching, or standing in front of, an empty chair, evidently that of his dead master. In and above the pediment are four doves, a known Montanist as well as an Orthodox device (Plate B).

Mr. W. H. Buckler called my attention to the following inscription of Charyk Köi, near Ushak, published by A. Körte, *Inscriptiones Bureschianae*, 1902, p. 34, no. 61 : on a "doorstone," Θεοδώρου Χρειστιανοῦ μνήμης χάριν. This epitaph, belonging to the Montanish country, is probably Montanist.

BURESCHIANAE
 USHAK
 KÖRTE
 CHARYK KÖI

In *Byzantion*, II., 1925, pp. 329 ff., Professor H. Grégoire identified the *κοινωνός* of the following inscription, published by Mr. W. H. Buckler in *J.H.S.*, xxxvii., 1917, p. 95, as a Montanist Archbishop: ✠ ἀνελήμφθη ὁ ἅγι[ο]ς Πραῦλι[ος] ὁ κοινωνὸς ὁ κατὰ τόπον ✠ ἐν ἔτει φμέ', ἰνδ(ικτιῶνι) ἡ' καὶ μηνὶ Ξανθικῷ ιε', ἡ[μ](έρα) Κυριακῇ, τῇ συνόδῳ τῇ Μ[υλουκ]ωμητῶν. This epitaph is from Mendechora, about 10 miles N.W. of Philadelphia. The date is Sunday, March 8, A.D. 515.

To these four published Montanist epitaphs Mr. Cox kindly allows me to add a brief description of the following monuments recorded by himself and Mr. A. Cameron, which will be published in facsimile in due course.

Cox, No. 1.—At Ali Bey Köi, near Altyn Tash, in the Tembris Valley. On a stele of a type in common use among Christians in the Upper Tembris Imperial Estate; the top, which may have contained a wreath with a cross, is broken away. The decoration includes a pair of oxen yoked to a plough.

Αὐρ. Κύριλλα
ἀνδρὶ Ἀσκληπ-
(ι)άδῃ κ- ἐαυτῇ ζῶ-
σα κ- τὰ τέκνα (α)ὐ-
τῶν Ἀσκληπι-
άδῃς πατρὶ κ-
μητρὶ κ- Δόμν-
α νύμφῃ ἐκυροῖς,
Χρηστια-
νοὶ Χρησ-
τιανοῖς,
μνήμης χ-
άρις.

Cox, No. 2.—At Kara Aghatch, between Appia and the Estate, probably on the territory of the former. Upper part (broken on the left) of a stele with arched pediment, containing a dove perched on a basket. On the border below the arch: Χριστι[α]νοὶ Χριστιανοί. The rest of the stele is lost. Mr. Cox notes "The profession of religion, and nothing else, occupied the most prominent part of the stone."

Cox, No. 3.—At Nuh Ören, on the north-western edge of the Estate. Fragmentary epitaph on the upper border of a bomos, broken

on the left. On the front of the bomos, a wreath, in the centre of which there appeared to have been a small cross, defaced. Below the epitaph, above the centre of the bomos : Χ]ρηστιανοῖς. In this instance, the word Χρηστιανοῖς stands alone.

Cox, No. 4.—In the cornfields near Arslan Appa, outside the north-western edge of the Estate. On a sarcophagus, broken above, 2.45 m. long, 1.34 m. wide. Above, a wreath, with traces of a cross. Metrical epitaph of a young girl named Kyrilla, in eight lines, to which is subjoined Χρηστιανοὶ Χρηστιανοῖς.

Cox, No. 5. At Kechiler, a village on the wooded northern skirts of Dindymus, whither it was said to have been carried from Appia. Metrical epitaph of Ἐορτάσιος ἐπίσκοπος, who describes himself as τίμιος εὐνοῦχος. I agree with Mr. Cox in dating this inscription, from its lettering and style, after A.D. 350. At this period (see *Anatolian Studies*, p. 89 ff.) a eunuch is unlikely to have been an orthodox bishop, and this inscription should probably be classed as heretical.

I will conclude and complete this section by referring to a well-known inscription of Cotiaëum, which was fully recorded for the first time by our party in 1924. It was published in *J.R.S.*, xv., 1925, p. 142, with the following *lemma*: "Slab, in a disused wash-house in the Greek quarter [of Kutahia]; h. 1.05 m.; w. about 2.40 m., letters 0.07 m. The plastered ends of the slab were dug out sufficiently to make the text for the first time certain. Lettering exceptionally clear and distinguished."

The inscription, re-arranged in metrical lines, runs as follows :

- τ]ὸν κλυτὸν ἐν ζωῶσι, τὸν ἔξοχον [ἐ]ν μερόπεσσι,
τὸν πρῶτιστον βουλῆς ἥδὲ πόλης ὅλης,
τὸν πτωχοὺς φιλέοντα [ἐ]ἵνεκεν εὐσεβίης,
Εὐστοχίου φίλον υἱά, τὸν ἀθάνατοι φιλέεσκον
5 (τοῦνεκα καὶ πηγαῖς λούσαμεν ἀθανάτοις)
καὶ μακάρων νήσσοις ἐνβαλον ἀθανάτων
Δόμνον, ζήσαντα τριῖς ἑτέων δεκάδας (leaf).

Kaibel (*Epigrammata Graeca*, no. 366) published this inscription from copies made by Perrot and Mordtmann; he destroyed its plain meaning by altering λούσαμεν into λούσαν ἐν in line 5. While such a simple and easy "restoration" stood unchallenged, suspicion and doubt was bound to meet any attempt to explain the text as it

stood in the two copies. Kaibel's "restoration" is impossible. This is one of the most carefully and elegantly carved of the fourth-century inscriptions of Asia Minor, and an engraver's error is out of the question.

I repeat, with some minor changes to bring it up to date, part of the commentary on this inscription published in *J.R.S.*, loc. cit.

The construction is carried on from verse 4 to verse 6; the fifth verse is in parenthesis. Interpretation of the epitaph must begin with the verb *λούσαμεν*.

The persons who say *λούσαμεν* are the persons who dedicate the tomb; the accusatives from *τὸν κλυτόν* to *υῖα*, and *Δόμνον* in the last verse, are governed by *ἐτιμήσαμεν* or *ἀνεστήσαμεν* understood. The tomb was usually dedicated by members of the family, and the corpse was washed, as a matter of course, before burial. But the reference here can scarcely be to the last lustral rite; for those who bury Domnus claim no kinship with him, and the "washing" is said to have been occasioned (*τοῦνεκα*) by Domnus' pious tendence of the poor which won him the love of the "immortal ones." It is an obvious explanation that the reference in *πηγαῖς λούσαμεν ἀθανάτοις* is to baptism, that the subjects of *λούσαμεν* were Domnus' fellow-members of a Christian community, and that Domnus was a convert whose gravestone was dedicated by those who had baptised him.

If this view is correct, it would appear at first sight that the subjects of *λούσαμεν* were the clergy of the church, and if we are dealing with an orthodox community, we must refer *λούσαμεν* to the local bishop and presbyters. But Cotiaeum was not a very orthodox city; close to it lay a district strongly affected by Montanism in the later third century, the city itself had a Novatian bishop in A.D. 368 (*Philadelphia and Montanism*, p. 13), and we have now evidence (see above) that a Novatian church existed in the Tembris valley about the middle of the fourth century. It must therefore be an open question whether those who claim to have baptised Domnus were orthodox clergy, or the officials or even the members of a sectarian church. The Montanists had a baptismal formula of their own and asserted the priesthood of all believers; the use of the plural *λούσαμεν* in this epitaph may well be a Montanist trait. References to baptism are exceedingly rare in the early-Christian epitaphs of Asia Minor; apart from the famous reference in the epitaph of Avircius Marcellus I know

only two, and both come from the Tembris valley (*Philadelphia and Montanism*, p. 33 f. and the epitaph of Ammia published above, p. 260 ff). The symbol of the Fish occurs in Isauria, but is very rare in Phrygia; examples were found at Amorium in 1928.

On the hypothesis that the inscription is Christian, the first verse acquires significance. At first sight "Famous among the living, eminent among men" has a flavour of insipid repetition. But give ζωὸς its Christian sense, and "Famous among the Living Ones (in Heaven) even as he was eminent among men" provides a pointed antithesis.

We therefore translate :

"Famous among the Living, eminent among men, foremost in the council and in all the city, loving the poor for his piety's sake, Eustochius' dear son, whom the Immortal Ones loved—wherefore also we laved him in immortal fountains—and set in the islands of the Blessed Immortals, Domnus, who lived thrice ten years."

If any should object that the language of this epitaph—steeped in pagan allusion—conflicts with the view that it is Christian, he may be referred to a note in the *Classical Review*, xxxvii., 1923, p. 56. If he should then admit that the language may be Christian, but think it unsuitable to strait-laced Novatians or Montanists, he shall have his answer when Mr. Cox's epitaph from Arslan Appa (Cox, no. 4 above) is published.

VERGIL AS A STUDENT OF HOMER.¹

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THE subject before us is large enough for a substantial book ; and no lecture, in any case, could present more than a fragment of it. I had hoped to prepare for the study by reading through at least the whole of the *Iliad* on my way back from Australia ; but some mischievous bacillus, robbed me of half my working time on that voyage and enfeebled the other half. The result is that this survey, so far as it is based on matters of detail, has been shaped mainly by the passages which seem to have caught Vergil's special notice in some twelve or thirteen Books of the *Iliad*, including the first ten. I shall be only too glad if what I have to say can be supplemented or criticised by any who may have a deeper knowledge of these Books, or of the rest of the Homeric poems, than I can claim. And I am conscious that such criticism may modify the conclusions which have formed themselves in my mind from this part of the evidence. Nevertheless, even within these limits, I hope to have reached certain general points of view.

It is probable also that the basis of this study, namely, my own recollection of the Vergilian poems, although it has supplied me with a number of resemblances which, so far as I know, have not been noticed, is quite sure to be inadequate ; and in this also I shall be grateful for further help.

The general results are concerned mainly with three things : (1) the profound interest and respect with which Vergil regarded the

¹ This lecture is printed almost exactly as it was delivered in the John Rylands Library on 9 January, 1929. For many valuable corrections at the proof-stage I am indebted to my friend Mr. William Beare, M.A., Senior Lecturer in Latin in the University of Manchester, and my colleague in the enterprise of preparing an edition of Vergil to replace that of Conington.

great Greek epic ; (2) some of the rules of poetic craftsmanship which he set himself to follow ; and chiefly, (3) some of the inward preferences or principles or convictions or values (call them by what name you will) which lay deepest in his nature and by which the course of his work was governed and inspired.

When we realise, as almost all of us have already done, that in Vergil's eyes the Homeric text had what we should call something like scriptural authority, we shall realise also that where he deliberately departs from it we have a direct clue to his own personal view of what was fitting for poetry or right in action.

It sometimes happens that a poet revises his own work, and where he changes it we can see the doubts he felt about it, and what parts of it seemed to him to be most open to criticism. Sometimes we feel, for instance, in reading the changes in Tennyson's *In Memoriam*, that the poet's doubts were not just, and that his first thought was better than his second. And when we are considering how one artist has remodelled the work of another, the question which we then commonly ask is whether we prefer the earlier artist or the later. And this will often be settled by our individual taste. Let me say, therefore, once and for all, that my object is not to play the rôle of Dionysus, holding up critical scales between competing poets ;—each of us can do that for himself, if he wishes, and if he knows enough ;—my hope is only to penetrate by this means as deeply as we can into Vergil's mind ; for that is a part of creation, if our study can climb far enough to enter it, in which it is supremely good to breathe. And for this purpose, although the varieties of style and character between the different parts of the *Iliad* will necessarily face us, they will not delay our attempt. To Vergil the *Iliad* was a single book, though, as we shall see, a book in which he greatly preferred some parts to others. Our object now is not to criticise the *Iliad*, but to examine how Vergil used it.

Thus much said, let me give first a few examples of the faithfulness with which Vergil loved to reproduce incidents or lines or phrases from Homer, where they suited his purpose. We all know his own remark that it was easier to rob Hercules of his club than to take a single line from Homer. Nevertheless he has taken a large number. I have not attempted to make a complete list of them, even from the Books I have just read ; but a few may be mentioned as typical.

Passages taken over bodily by Vergil.

Il., ii. 859:

. . . ἦρχε . . . Ἐννομος οἰωνιστής,
ἀλλ' οὐκ οἰωνοῖσι ἐρύσσατο κῆρα μέλαιναν.

Aen., ix. 328:

Turno gratissimus augur,
sed non augurio potuit depellere pestem.

Il., ix. 340:

ἦ μοῦνοι φιλέουσ' ἀλόχους μερόπων ἀνθρώπων
'Ατρεΐδαι;

Aen., ix. 138:

nec solos tangit Atridas
iste dolor.

Il., vi. 306:

Πότνι' Ἀθηναίη . . .
ἄξον δὴ ἔγχος Διομήδεος ἥδ' αὐτὸν
πρηνέα δὸς πεσέειν Σκαιῶν προπάροιθε πυλάων.

Aen., xi. 483:

Tritonia uirgo,
frange manu telum Phrygii praedonis, et ipsum
prorum sterne solo portisque effunde sub altis.

There need be no gate in the prayer in the *Aeneid*, save for the Scaean gates in the *Iliad*; and *manu* is interesting as an equivalent of δὴ.

Od., v. 306:

τρὶς μάκαρες Δαναοὶ καὶ τετράκις οἱ τότε ὄλοντο
Τροίῃ ἐν εὐρείῃ, χάριν Ἀτρεΐδῃσι φέροντες.
ὥς δὴ ἐγὼ γ' ὄφελον θανέειν καὶ πότμον ἐπισπείν
ἡματι τῷ . . .

(when the crowd of Trojans cast their brazen
spear at me over Achilles' body: then I should
have been buried properly.)

Aen., i. 94-96:

O terque quaterque beati
queis ante ora patrum Troiae sub moenibus altis
contigit oppetere.

Il., xi. 241:

αὐθι πεσὼν κοιμήσατο χάλκεον ὕπνον.

Aen., x. 745:

olli dura quies oculos et ferreus urget
somnia; in aeternam clauduntur lumina noctem.

Among other close parallels which are too long to quote verbally are the comparison¹ of the movements of an army watched from a distance by those whom it is approaching to attack, with a storm gathering at sea and sweeping down upon the land, before the eyes of a shepherd on the hillside.² Similar situations again are described in a proposal to settle the war by a single combat, in the *Iliad* between Paris and Menelaus, in the *Aeneid* (Book XII.) between Turnus and Aeneas, including the sacrifice which is made at the truce.³ The picture of the divided counsels in Troy⁴ is reflected by similar discord at the court⁵ of King Latinus. One very close resemblance is in the repudiation of Turnus's policy by Drances when he is speaking to Aeneas about the truce for the burial of the dead ; this recalls rather precisely the repudiation of Paris and his party by Idæus when he is carrying to the Greeks the proposal for a truce for the same purpose ; and the response,⁶ of Aeneas in granting the truce has been influenced by that of Agamemnon.⁷

A somewhat amusing likeness may be found in the reproaches addressed by various commanders in the two poems to their troops for not fighting as hard as they ought. In the *Iliad*⁸ Agamemnon tells his troops that they are very good at eating and drinking and boasting ; the same reproach, with some others even more biting, comes from the lips of the Etruscan Tarchon⁹ when his troops are running away in fear of Camilla. This list could be greatly extended, but we have seen enough to be satisfied of the point which I am first concerned to make clear, that Vergil's attitude towards Homer is that of a pious though enlightened disciple.

Let us now pass from these examples of close reproduction and consider one or two in which though we have still a close resemblance, we have also some definite modification. The motive of the change, either in the wording, or in the use of the material, is generally not at all hard to see.

The incident of Turnus' sword breaking on Aeneas' armour is constructed with care from two Homeric passages ;¹⁰ the breaking of Menelaus' sword on Paris' helmet is combined with Diomed's having

¹ *Aeneid*, xii. 451.

² *Iliad*, iv. 275.

³ *Iliad*, iii. 95.

⁴ *Iliad*, vii. 390.

⁵ *Aeneid*, xi. 129.

⁶ *Aeneid*, xi. 110.

⁷ *Iliad*, vii. 408.

⁸ *Iliad*, viii. 228.

⁹ *Aeneid*, xi. 732.

¹⁰ *Iliad*, iii. 362, and x. 256.

left his sword behind him in starting for the night foray. No reason is given in Homer for his strange forgetfulness ; the bard's motive seems to have been merely to get an excuse for talking about the sword with which he is provided by a friend. In the *Aeneid* Turnus has sudden news of Aeneas' retreat because of his wound, and in his characteristic haste to pursue, he snatches up the wrong sword, and so is at a disadvantage. No harm comes to Diomed from using the sword that is given him instead of his own, but with what art the breaking of the sword is woven into Vergil's story of the combat we shall see later on.

The simile in which Vergil compares the gathering and advance of an army to the rise of waves at sea beneath a freshening breeze¹ comes from the *Iliad*² with an interesting alteration. According to Homer the sea grows black under the shivering wind. This apparently Vergil did not remember to have seen ; he describes simply how the waves begin to grow white. Homer's point of view was that of a sailor in the open sea, in the dark trough of the waves ; the ships of Vergil's day were larger, small though we should count them.

Again Aeneas's declaration³ that he can never forget Dido as long as life lasts is a line of power and swift movement, 'While I still remember who I am and while the breath still governs this frame.' But it is based on an angry threat⁴ of Achilles that he will wait for his vengeance all his life if need be 'so long as breath remains in my bosom and my good knees have their strength.' Even in Homer there is no particular relevance in the mention of the knees (save that Achilles was proud of his power of running swiftly). Vergil replaces it altogether by the more psychological and more deeply-felt phrase, 'while I remember who I am'—though he succeeds in putting the whole into the space of a single line (which Homer exceeds).

It is worth noting that the well-known simile describing human activity by a comparison with that of bees is used by Homer⁵ of an army swarming out for battle. In Vergil it is used twice, but both times to depict peaceful efforts, once that of building⁶ the city of Carthage, once the happy occupations⁷ of the Blessed in Elysium. The industry of ants also is taken by Vergil to illustrate the labours of the Trojans in re-building their ships in order to escape from Africa.⁸

¹ *Aeneid*, vii. 528, and *Georgics*, iii. 237.

³ *Aeneid*, iv. 336.

⁶ *Aeneid*, i. 430.

⁴ *Iliad*, ix. 609.

⁷ *Aeneid*, vi. 706.

² vii. 63 ff.

⁵ *Iliad*, ii. 87.

⁸ *Aeneid*, iv. 401.

A characteristic shift of perspective in the use of an old world conception appears when Vergil takes the angry threat which Zeus addresses to Hera that he will throw her down 'twice as deep into Tartarus as earth is below Heaven,' but makes it describe the fate that has already befallen the giant enemies of Jove in the afterworld—not an empty threat of the domestic bully, but a doom already inflicted to punish the worst of crimes, a revolt against Jove, civil war in the Universe.¹

A rather striking change appears in Vergil's use of the lines describing a warrior's scruples against offering worship to the gods when he has only newly returned from battle, defiled with dust and gore. In a beautiful and famous scene Homer attributes this feeling to Hector² who, when he has come out of the battle-field, declines a draught of wine, which his mother offers him, on the ground that he cannot make a libation to Zeus until he has washed himself. Vergil gives almost the same words to Aeneas³ as his reason for asking his father to carry the sacred gods of Troy in their flight since he (Aeneas) dare not touch them yet. In both places the sentiment is entirely appropriate; but in Vergil's setting it strikes a deeper note, because the Penates of Troy represent the great end which Aeneas is working to secure. They are to be the household gods, the guardian spirits, of Rome; that is why they are so sacred. In Vergil a healthy human instinct, clothed in the religious usage of early Hellas, is re-inforced by an oecumenic touch. Not merely the scruple of an honest soldier, but the future of the world is concerned.

A new and charming application of poetic ornament taken from

¹ *Iliad*, viii. 13:

ἥ μιν ἔλων ῥίψω ἐς Τάρταρον ἡρόεντα

τόσσον ἔνερθ' Ἀίδεω ὅσον οὐρανός ἐστ' ἀπὸ γαίης.

Aeneid, vi. 579:

bis patet in praeceps tantum tenditque sub umbras,
quantus ad aetherium caeli suspectus Olympum.

A similar change from a threat of vengeance before any wrong has been so much as thought of to vengeance actually invoked after a great wrong has been suffered is found in Dido's curse (*Aeneid*, iv. 612-627) compared with the merely contingent anathema of Medea (Ap. Rhod., *Arg.* iv. 382).

² *Iliad*, vi. 266.

³ *Aeneid*, ii. 718.

Homer was made by Vergil in the simile of a woman staining ivory with crimson dye. In the *Iliad*¹ it is applied quite neatly to the look of the wound of Menelaus, the red blood against the ivory-coloured skin. In Vergil it describes the sudden flush of Lavinia when she sees her suitor Turnus listening, or rather not listening, to her mother's entreaties not to fight with Aeneas. And characteristically, as though to free the simile from any painful association that might cling to it in the mind of the reader, Vergil inserts another simile in the same sentence 'or as when white lilies seem to turn red because they are mixed with many roses.'

Another type of modification equally characteristic is where Vergil rationalises some Homeric story. A striking case is of the plague, which at the outset of the *Iliad*² is set upon the Greeks by Apollo who has private reasons for anger with Agamemnon. In the *Aeneid*³ the Trojans suffer from plague, but it is said to be healed by Apollo and caused only by the heat of autumn. Another case in which Vergil avoids a miracle is in the portent of the snake at the altar, and here he makes other incidental changes natural to a poet so fond of birds and small creatures. In the Fifth Book of the *Aeneid*,⁴ when Aeneas is sacrificing at the tomb of his father Anchises, he is greatly encouraged by the appearance of a snake of many colours who comes out of the tomb, eats some of the offerings and vanishes again having done no harm, as the poet expressly adds; this is taken by Aeneas as an assurance of the continued goodwill of his father's spirit, and the protection which it will give him in his enterprise.

Now this is based on a famous passage in the Second Book of the *Iliad*,⁵ where we learn how when the Greeks were sailing from Aulis for Troy a serpent appeared from beneath the altar, stretched itself up to a tree that overhung the altar, and from a sparrow's nest on a bough, devoured first eight small birds and then the mother sparrow

¹ *Iliad*, iv. 141 :

ὥς δ' ὅτε τίς τ' ἐλέφαντα γυνὴ φοίνικι μίγη.

Aeneid, xii. 67 :

Indum sanguineo ueluti uiolauerit ostro
si quis ebur, aut mixta rubent ubi lilia multa
alba rosa.

² *Iliad*, i. 10.

³ *Aeneid*, iii. 137.

⁴ *Aeneid*, v. 85.

⁵ *Iliad*, ii. 305.

herself. Finally the snake was turned into stone ; though what became of the stone the poet has no room to tell us. This was interpreted by Calchas to mean that the siege of Troy would last eight years and that in the ninth the city would fall.

Schoolboys, no doubt, find more pleasure in the Homeric story, but Vergil's picture is not only complete in itself, but also in harmony with the peaceful scene he is describing and still more with the hopes of peace in the world under Augustus of which it is to be the omen ; and both the cruel and the miraculous sides of the Homeric story are quietly left out.

There are many cases, again, in which Vergil takes full advantage of coming second—second not merely to Homer but to a long line of great dramatic poets—to put Homeric material to more vivid and life-like use. For example, as we have seen, the incident of the broken truce in the Twelfth Book of the *Aeneid* may be said to “come from” a similar event in the Fourth Book of the *Iliad*.¹ But in the Homeric story the truce is broken merely by a single act ; Pandarus, on the advice of Athene, who wishes to put the Trojans in the wrong, and has disguised herself as a Trojan, shoots an arrow at Menelaus and wounds him—without any particular motive save for the shooting's sake. In the *Aeneid* the breach of the truce is due to the popularity of Turnus among the Latin troops, who are unwilling to let Turnus fight alone with Aeneas, and who are incited by the outburst of the augur Tolumnius, interpreting as an omen in their favour the escape of a swan from the clutches of an eagle when the rest of the troop of swans unite to stop the eagle's flight. The whole story is dramatic and full of feeling ; and, incidentally, the supernatural element of Athene's prompting is replaced by the natural impulse of an army to protect its commander. Thus it adds something to our knowledge of Turnus and our sympathy for him. Also, incidentally, the appeal to the supernatural by a professional augur is sternly criticised ; for Tolumnius is the first victim of his own false augury—a kind of Protestant touch !

Again the dispute between Turnus and Drances in the Eleventh Book shows many resemblances to that between Agamemnon and Achilles in the opening of the *Iliad*. Achilles and Turnus are both very angry all through ; but Agamemnon and Drances avoid violent

¹ *Iliad*, iv. 86 ; *Aeneid*, xii. 216 ff.

speech, though both show bitter hostility, and say things which rouse their opponents to fierce indignation.

But now observe that Achilles is certainly in the right; he has been shamefully used. Turnus is wholly in the wrong. But it is part of Vergil's imaginative craftsmanship to make us sympathise with him rather than with his opponent Drances, who has an excellent cause to plead and only spoils it by one or two spiteful¹ phrases which seem to slip out by the way. That, so Vergil saw, is like human history; mischief is continually done by the wrong-headedness or passion of men whose cause itself we admire. That is how Antony was so stung by the bitter invective of Cicero's Second Philippic that no vengeance could content him short of the murder of Cicero—and some 2000 others.

Where resemblances are so numerous, it is interesting to note examples of things which Vergil wholly left on one side. Such incidents as the friendly ending² of a duel between Ajax and Hector, or the beautiful farewell of Hector to Andromache and their child, could hardly find place in Vergil's story; though for the last, the speech of Evander in bidding Pallas goodbye is an equivalent in feeling. But other things he might well have used, such as the comparison of the stubborn resistance of Ajax, beset by a crowd of Trojans, to that of an ass, belaboured by boys but still going where he chooses in spite of them.³ Perhaps Vergil knew how to manage a mule or a colt rather better. And there are several similes in *Iliad* v. which would have been quite serviceable in the *Aeneid*, but this Book, the feeblest of the whole *Iliad*, Vergil seems to have disliked and turned away from almost entirely—save that he has taken a hint from one line⁴ describing a slain warrior πολυκτῆμων πολολῆιος 'rich in possessions and corn land' and expanded it in his characteristic way, of Galaesus, who fell in striving to allay the outbreak of hostilities:

iustissimus unus
qui fuit Ausoniisque olim ditissimus arvis;
quinque greges illi balantum, quina redibant
armenta, et terram centum uertebat aratris.⁵

¹ *Aeneid*, xi. 347 and 351; *auspicium infaustum moresque sinistros* and *fugae fidens* of Turnus; and especially the word *fulsus* (l. 366) which Turnus repudiates in fury (l. 392).

² *Iliad*, vii. 290.

³ *Iliad*, xi. 558.

⁴ *Iliad*, v. 613.

⁵ *Aeneid*, vii. 538.

We may now turn to some larger differences of treatment, some of which are obvious. The first is the prevailing brutality of the Homeric soldier in act and in speech. There is no counterpart to this in the *Aeneid* except in two special places, to which Vergil has deliberately confined it; first in the utterances of the Etruscan tyrant Mezentius,¹ who is soon punished for his impiety and cruelty; and the second in Aeneas himself, in the second half of the Tenth Book, when he has been roused to what Vergil calls the 'madness'² of battle by the death of young Pallas.³ Before that Aeneas has been in fact on the defensive.⁴ If particular instances are needed from the Homeric battles, perhaps the most striking is the advice given by Agamemnon to Menelaus to refuse to spare a man who had been thrown to the ground by his own horses taking fright. The poet expressly says⁵ that Agamemnon's advice to kill him was 'good.' So, too, even old Nestor insists with vigour on the fate which will fall to the women of Troy when the city is taken. And in the Ninth Book, in the long story of Phoenix, we have an example of old-world domestic manners in the advice given to Phoenix by his mother,⁶ which is so bestial that at least one gentle-minded commentator has completely failed to understand it. An even more brutal approval of cruel fashions appears among the gods in the First Book when they all break into 'unquenchable laughter'⁷ merely at the sight of the limping Hephæstus. Similarly the style of speech usual in Homeric controversy, as when Achilles addresses Agamemnon as a 'drunken, dog-eyed, devourer of his people,'⁸ has no parallel whatever in Vergil; though of course warriors occasionally call their opponents or their own slack followers, cowards. The nearest approach to such language is on the lips of Turnus⁹ after he has been provoked beyond measure by Drances.

The habitual brutality of the words¹⁰ of Zeus to his consort Hera brings us to another large and obvious point of difference.

¹ *Aeneid*, x. 689; viii. 481. ² *Aeneid*, x. 604. ³ *Aeneid*, x. 480

⁴ *Aeneid*, x. 309-340. It is true that Aeneas *primus turmas inuasit*; but only when the trumpets have sounded on both sides, after Turnus *rapit totam aciem in Teucros*; and we are expressly told that the man whom Aeneas first slew *ultra Aenean petit*.

⁵ *Iliad*, vi. 61 f.

⁶ *Iliad*, ix. 452.

⁷ *Iliad*, i. 600.

⁸ *Iliad*, i. 225-231.

⁹ *Aeneid*, xi. 391.

¹⁰ For instance, *Iliad*, viii. 12-16 and 480; i. 567.

On the character of the Homeric gods, and in particular of Zeus, so much has been written that I hardly dare enter upon the topic. Yet it lies directly in our path and a few words are necessary. Putting aside for the moment Zeus and Jove, it is true to say first, that both in Homer and in Vergil the other gods differ in no way from human beings except in point of the supernatural powers with which they can see and move and act upon mortals. But, secondly, it is also true that though the Vergilian deities are exceedingly human—consider especially the speeches of Venus and Juno in Book X—yet they never descend to the childish utterances and merely contemptible manœuvres which appear in the pictures of the gods in the *Iliad*, such as the complaint¹ of Poseidon that the wall which the Greeks had built round their camp will eclipse the fame of the wall which he has built round Troy! Or the tricks and the manners of Hera which are set forth with such evident gusto by the author of the Fourteenth Book.² Or Zeus' terror of being scolded by Hera,³ or his humiliation by Hera, Poseidon, and Pallas.⁴ The difference, of course, is inevitable in poets who wrote sincerely at two such different epochs; although the procedure of Ovid shows us that it is perfectly possible for a poet in a civilised epoch to please himself by adopting on paper the stories and beliefs of primitive times. The nearest approach in the *Aeneid* to the Homeric pictures of wrangling between the gods is in the Book which we know to have been the earliest in drafting, namely, the Tenth. The irony with which Jupiter speaks to Juno—it is irony if the lines are printed as a statement—is the only place in the *Aeneid* where there is the least approach to a disregard of outward courtesy. But they are only a tolerably pointed argument if, as I think they should be, they are printed as a question.⁵ Elsewhere, at all events, though the differences between the gods are acute they are expressed in decorous language. In the *Iliad*, Zeus is quite as human as the other gods; in one passage,

¹ *Iliad*, vii. 452.

² This Book went by the name of *Διὸς ἀπατή*, 'the Beguiling of Zeus.'

³ *Iliad*, i. 516-522.

⁴ *Iliad*, i. 398.

⁵ *Aeneid*, x. 607.

Vt rebare, Venus—nec te sententia fallit?—

Troianas sustentat opes, non uiuida bello

dextra uiris, animusque ferox, patiensque pericli?

often noted,¹ he cannot hear any prayers because he has gone off to feast with the blameless Aethiopians. In the *Aeneid* he is divine, in a quite real sense ; dignified, sympathetic, and at times inscrutable as the repository of the *fata*, the laws of Destiny, must be ; but always righteous and wishing the best. Most characteristic of the Homeric point of view is the sulky reply² of Zeus to Hera's protest against his wish to save Troy. "Very well then ; Troy shall fall ; but don't you get in my way when it is my turn to destroy some other town." Such a bargain would be unthinkable to Vergil ; the whole story of the *Aeneid* is carefully brought to the reconciliation of Juno, by which Trojans and Latins are both spared.

Turning now to other substantial differences for which Vergil is responsible, we may put aside at once the vast and obvious gulf between the poems in structure and style. An epic based on the fusion of a number of independent lays, certainly not all of them composed at the same time or by the same person, must necessarily be a very different thing from a poem which, though actually written during a period of at least twelve years, was nevertheless planned and executed by a single mind. We do not expect, for instance, to find the naïve repetitions, the primitive traditional diction, the boyish tone of narrative, and the inordinately long speeches at impossible points of the story³ which were all marks of the professional Greek minstrel. Nor the frequent breaks in the continuity and consistency of the story, due to piecing together different lays, which are familiar to us in the *Iliad*. Yet they confronted every reader in ancient Rome ; and to have escaped them completely in all but one instance (the unfinished connexions of Book iii.)⁴ is no small mark of the splendid architectural power of Vergil's imagination.

Let me mention now four changes—out of the many—which Vergil made in the main thread of his story, and which are obviously characteristic. Two of the four I have discussed in previous lectures, so that I need only mention them briefly here. We start from four outstanding incidents in the Homeric poems. As any young Roman poet read the *Iliad*, if he dreamt of writing an epic of his own, we

¹ *Iliad*, i. 423.

² *Iliad*, iv. 40.

³ Such as the 172 lines assigned to the speech of Phoenix in *Iliad*, ix. (434 to 605).

⁴ *Septima* in i. 755 is clearly inconsistent with *septima* in v. 626, which should be *octava* in the light of v. 46.

may imagine him to have made some such mental notes as these. 'In the fighting scenes of my epic there must be something to correspond to the end of the Homeric story—the slaying of Hector by Achilles.' Or again; 'Roman readers will feel a certain deficiency in my story if it contains no picturesque adventures by night like that of Dolon'. Or again; 'If I tell a story of travel, the hero will have a less exciting and instructive experience than that of the hero of the *Odyssey*, if his travels be confined to the world of the living; and if a Roman poet cannot picture the world of the dead as Homer did, so much the worse for that Roman poet'. Or again; 'A wanderer by sea, landed or wrecked on many strange coasts, must have intercourse with many people; and some of these people are sure¹ to be fair ladies, and if Odysseus was detained by the loves of Calypso and Circe, a Roman hero must be brought into at least one romance.'

It is enough to put these presumptions into some such shape as they might have taken in the mind of any Roman interested in poetry;—exactly how Vergil would have expressed them to himself, into what finer form these lines of possibility in his art would grow in his mind, none of us will dare to say; it is enough for us to recognise the kind of expectation which was natural, and no doubt audible, in the thoughtful and widely-read circle of men with whom Vergil was in contact. But we can ask and we can find what Vergil made of the Homeric precedent in these four cases.

Well we know what he made of the Descent into Hell. Instead of its being, as it is in the *Odyssey*, just a purple patch, or two purple patches, only loosely connected with each other and with the story, it has become in the *Aeneid*, as I have shown,² the central and governing part of the whole story, the key to the poet's manifold purpose, the heart of the whole living design. And what of the romance? The main theme of the *Odyssey* is the return of the hero to his faithful wife; and the poet, familiar as he clearly was with the experience of sailors in his own day, chose, by one of the most charming touches of genius in either epic, to represent the loves of Odysseus as immortal goddesses who, however beautiful, however irresistible in their own ways and in their own little islands, could never rival in his heart the fair

¹ If we may judge by the recorded experience of sailors—experience not wholly ancient, if there is any truth in proverbs.

² In the last of my *Harvard Lectures on the Vergilian Age*.

image of his wife at home. And starting from this happy expedient, it was not difficult so to shape the story that both of these divine ladies should themselves speed their lover on his way ; and that the decree of separation should be sent by supreme authority not to the hero, but to each hostess herself in turn. Such is the simple melodrama of the Homeric story. What has Vergil made of it ? He has made Aeneas a real lover, though a widower in middle age ; so much so that he forgets his mission. But the poet has made Dido 'every inch a queen and every inch a woman.' With Aeneas she is the victim of a conspiracy framed by two rival powers, superior to the two mortals they play with, from purely political objects and with no thought of the ultimate happiness of the man and the woman but caring only for the (supposed) advantage of the political units which they respectively represent. The call of conscience, of obedience to higher orders, that drags Aeneas away from the royal home which he thought he had found, is no mere passing incident in the tale of a sailor's wandering ; it is the central stroke, the sudden recognition of hard facts, the *ἀναγνώρισις*, which in Vergil, as in Greek drama, makes a tragedy. And in this tragedy, as I have tried¹ to show, Vergil has recorded for all time his poetic vision of the results of such political schemes, springing from a blind and narrow form of national sentiment, and reckless of human misery. It is calamities like the century of war between Rome and Carthage which are the outcome when statesmen aim at the supremacy of their own nation by the destruction of every other, and when they dare to make human affection a mere tool in their planning, a pawn in their game. Listen once more to the last words² of Dido's curse—which picture the end that the tragedy was to have in the destinies of Rome, the destruction of vast Roman armies and the fourteen years' devastation of Italy by Hannibal.

Hear me ye gods, and one day from my bones
 Breed an avenger ! Rise, thou dread unknown,
 Drive from their chosen homes with sword and fire
 The Trojan settlers, now or whensoe'er
 Occasion gives thee power, drive and destroy !
 Arms against arms array, tide against wave,
 Embattle continent with continent,
 On them, and on their children's children, war !

¹ In *The Place of Dido in History*, c. vi. of *New Studies of a Great Inheritance*, London, 1920.

² *Aeneid*, iv. 625 ff.

exoriare aliquis nostris ex ossibus ultor
 qui face Dardanio ferroque sequare colonos
 nunc, olim, quocumque dabunt se tempore uires.
 litora litoribus contraria, fluctibus undas
 imprecor, arma armis: pugnent ipsique nepotesque.

The art of the epic has discovered, and conquered, a whole new world of thought and passion since it was content with the placid though reluctant leave-takings¹ of Calypso and Circe.

Consider now the final combat between Aeneas and Turnus, as compared with that between the Greek Achilles and the Trojan Hector, of which Vergil was thinking all the time as his greatest exemplar. In each story before the combat begins the scales of Destiny are suspended and Zeus or Jove weighs the prospects of the two heroes. In the *Iliad*² Zeus finds that Hector is doomed and the bard announces the fact; in Vergil's story, no one but Jove is the wiser. The reader must wait and discover from the story itself. The gain in power by this use of suspense is clear.³ When the fight begins Hector, though he had done valorous deeds before this, runs away in terror on seeing Achilles, and is only persuaded to turn and meet him because the goddess Athene, who is a friend of Achilles, takes the shape of Hector's brother, and coming to him promises to support him in the contest. Then, when Hector has thus, so to speak, been brought 'up to the scratch,' the sham brother vanishes into thin air. In Vergil's story Turnus is never a coward, though at the end he is oppressed by a bad conscience. Achilles is never wounded at all; whereas in the *Aeneid*, before the duel begins, Aeneas has been wounded by a chance arrow which is only extracted with difficulty and leaves him lame. All the same he pursues Turnus, who is carried away from meeting him by his divine sister Juturna; she entraps him, not into fighting, but into safety. At length, however, Turnus insists that he must and will meet Aeneas. You see how much more formidable Turnus is made than Hector was. Then when they do approach, both hurl their spears and miss, but Aeneas' spear sticks in the trunk of a tree. Then they meet sword to sword; Turnus' sword breaks and he flees; but Aeneas, since he is lame, cannot catch him, and

¹ *Odyssey*, v. 161, 190; x. 489, 572.

² *Iliad*, xxii. 209; *Aeneid*, xii. 725.

³ Yet so far as I know it has not yet been observed.

Juturna gives Turnus a better sword. Then and not till then Aeneas' spear is given back. So divine help is first given to the hero's enemy, and only in the second place to the hero himself.

And in Homer's story, how is Hector brought down? Both Achilles and Hector throw their spears and miss; but the goddess Athene picks up the spear of Achilles and gives it him back; no one gives Hector's back to him; so he has only his sword which is no match for a long spear hurled from a short distance. That is how Hector falls. Then notice the end. Hector begs Achilles for burial. Achilles refuses, barbarously adding that he wishes his teeth were strong enough to tear Hector to pieces. And you know how all the Greek crowd came and thrust spears into his body, and how Achilles dragged it with every insult through the dust round the walls of Troy before the eyes of his father and mother and wife. Turnus begs Aeneas not merely for burial but for his life, and Aeneas is on the point of sparing him, when he sees the fatal sword-belt which Turnus is wearing, and which, in defiance of the custom¹ of ancient warfare, he had torn from the dead body of young Pallas. Only so can Aeneas be brought to the point of slaying Turnus. These differences were deliberately made by Vergil; his hero is a different man from Achilles.

Finally note how Vergil replaces the episode of Dolon in the *Iliad*, where two of the greatest Greek champions, Diomed and Odysseus, are sent out by their commander by night to spy upon the Trojans. A Trojan named Dolon has been also sent out by Hector to spy on the Greeks and to try and steal the horses of Achilles. The two Greek warriors catch sight of Dolon, and seize him; he begs for mercy, and Odysseus reassures him in words which Dolon naturally takes for a promise that they will spare him ('Be of good courage and have no fear of death');² so Odysseus gets from him information about the Trojan camp. Having secured this, they cut Dolon's throat in cold blood—the poet gives precise details of this surgical operation, having first told us that Dolon just failed³ to reach Diomed's chin when he knelt and lifted up his hands in supplication. Had he

¹ Mr. Beare reminds me of another example of the disregard of this custom, which also has a tragical end,—the stratagem of Coroebus in Book ii. (389 and 411). The case of Euryalus in ix. 365 is different because Messapus had not been slain, though the prize was fatal to Euryalus too.

² *Iliad*, x. 383, *θάρσει, μηδέ τί τοι θάνατος καταθύμιος ἔστω*.

³ *Iliad*, x. 454.

touched Diomed's chin, the primitive Homeric code of ethics, not to say magic, would have prevented Diomed from killing him. Knowing their way now, they proceed to the Trojan camp, butcher the sleeping Rhesus and eleven of his men—the poet gives no names but is careful to state the number; as Diomed proceeds with this promiscuous slaughter, Odysseus carefully drags the dead bodies to one side, for fear the horses of Rhesus should take fright at them. His efforts are successful; they carry off the famous horses and return to a dip in the sea, followed by a hot bath and supper in the Greek camp—the third supper that Odysseus has enjoyed that night; but their personal triumph has no particular effect on the course of the story. There is no reason to complain; for though the author of this Book, the Tenth, was far from being one of the best minstrels whose lays were incorporated in the *Iliad*, its author no doubt gives us a faithful picture of the instincts and interests of his age—things still inherent in every one though happily repressed in most of us, except in war.

Now let me remind you how Vergil conceived the same kind of incident—an expedition by night from a beleaguered camp.

Two boys, Nisus and Euryalus, one of sixteen years and the other of fourteen volunteer, without any invitation, to make their way by night from the Trojan camp which is beset by the Latins, in order to fetch back Aeneas from his visit to Evander. There is urgent need; the result of their failure is that Turnus succeeds in breaking into the Trojan camp. After some success at first, in which they make their way through the Latin camp which is buried in drunken slumber, Euryalus is captured—thanks to his having put on the shining helmet of one of his victims. Nisus, in a desperate attempt to rescue him, perishes too.

The differences between the stories are most significant. Dolon, as we have seen, was killed in cold blood on general principles¹; Euryalus is being carried off prisoner by the Latins; but they do not kill him until they are provoked into doing so² by the fall of man after man under the deadly fire of darts from his friend Nisus.

When Diomed enters the Thracian camp we are expressly told³

¹ *Iliad*, x. 447.

² *Aeneid*, ix. 422.

³ *Iliad*, x. 482:

τῷ δ' ἔμπνευσε μένος γλαυκῶπις Ἀθήνη
κτείνε δ' ἐπιστροφάδην.

that Athene gives him μένος, that is eagerness, ardour for slaughter ; and it is in the strength of this that he carries on his bloody work, ἐπιστροφάδην, 'to right and left.' This Vergil seems quite clearly to criticise, first by making Nisus ask Euryalus,¹ 'whether it is the gods who inspire them with such ardour or only each man's own dread ambition' ; and by describing the actual slaughter in the camp as an excess (*nimia caede atque cupidine*) against which Euryalus is warned by his older comrade. That warning takes the place of a caution given, with no hint of reproof,² to Diomed, indeed with a compliment by Athene herself.

The most vivid incident in the camp scene in the *Aeneid* is the fate of Rhoetus, to which there is nothing in Homer that at all corresponds. The suggestion of it no doubt came from the *Rhesus* of Euripides, where the fate of the hero is described by one of his soldiers who saw it, but himself escaped.³ Now in Vergil's story, while the two boys are killing the Latin soldiers in their drunken sleep, one of them, this Rhoetus, is awake and watching all the time, but he is too much of a coward to give the alarm to the rest and merely tries to hide himself. We feel no sorrow when he is caught and dealt with.

You know how the story ends, with a scene in which the heads of the two lads, impaled on spears, are carried by the enemy under the walls of the Trojan camp before the eyes of the mother of Euryalus, who is led away into mourning by honoured commanders of the Trojan host. It is one of Vergil's moments of deepest inspiration, and he seems to have known it ; for he ends with the only line in which he ever expresses any confidence that his own work will survive—this even now with an 'if,' a most Vergilian 'if'. Forgive me for quoting it again. It is one of the three beatitudes of Vergil. The first is in the great passage in Book II. of the *Georgics* : 'Blessed are the farmers if they have learnt to know their wealth' ; and the second a little further on : 'Blessed is the poet who knows the spirits of the countryside' ;

¹ *Aeneid*, ix. 184.

² *Iliad*, x. 509 :

νόστου δὴ μνήσαι, μεγαθύμου Τύδεος υἱέ,
νῆας ἐπι γλαφυράς, μὴ καὶ πεφοβημένος ἔλθης.

³ Eurip. *Rhes.*, l. 756—a reference I owe to my friend and former colleague, Mrs. Mary Braunholtz (née Herford).

and here we have the third, 'Blessed are ye, Nisus and Euryalus,' that is, 'Blessed are the young who give their lives for their fellows.'

'O happy both. If aught my song avails,
No day shall blot you from remembering years
While by the Capitol's unmoving rock
Aeneas' house shall stand, and he whom Rome
Calls Father, gives commandment to the world.'

fortunati ambo! Si quid mea carmina possunt
nulla dies unquam memori uos eximet aevo,
dum domus Aeneae Capitoli immobile saxum
accolet, imperiumque pater Romanus habebit.

The pledge has been more than fulfilled. Neither the Capitol nor the Vatican now commands the world. But this promise, which Vergil made to no one else, marks the temper of those two boys as the real foundation of the Kingdom of Peace that he longed for, the noblest part of all the inheritance that ancient Rome could leave to the Christian world that was to come.

Let me conclude with a reflection which may seem commonplace; at all events it ought to be commonplace. But it is one which I have seen recently denied by high authority. Professor Wilamowitz Moellendorff in some friendly criticism of an address which I gave in January, 1928, entitled *Poetry and Government*, demurred to my contention that Vergil and Horace had influenced Octavian towards clemency, contending that he was moved not by these particular authors, but by the *Zeitgeist*, the spirit that was in the air. This spirit he (apparently) thinks would have produced the change in Octavian, even had Vergil and Horace never lived. I am not concerned, of course, to deny that many great men have delivered themselves of their teaching to their generation and passed away, often as martyrs, without seeing any fruit (or any great fruit) of their labours. But even they, as their repute shows, have in their day and degree led and moved mankind; and I venture to hold very strongly that whatever there may be in the air, as we say, at any given moment, if it implies a vigorous break with what has been customary, if it is a new view of things which it requires courage to advocate, then it is certainly not the product of spontaneous combustion, but the work of strong and brave men. The darkness that surrounds the growth of the Homeric poems forbids us to reason about them from this point

of view ; yet it is a permissible speculation that the gulf between the barbarity of *Iliad* xxii. and the humanity of *Iliad* xxiv. and of all the *Odyssey* was not crossed without some courage on the part of the later minstrel. Granting that the spirit of mercy came at last to prevail in Rome in the years between 44 and 29 B.C., and to triumph over the temper of people like Sextus Pompey and Mark Antony and Octavian as he still was at Perusia in 41, it is surely reasonable to ask in what form this spirit took shape. And if we find it splendidly embodied in the work of the greatest minds of that age, surely it is futile to suppose that the anticipations and undertones or echoes of that teaching, which we may conjecture to have been heard on other lips, had anything like the same power to influence events. On the contrary, it is possible to point to more than one epoch in history—some of them quite recent in our own country and in others,—in which hundreds of men knew what ought to be done, and perhaps the majority of the community concerned were conscious of what ought to be done, but none of them had the strength or the genius that was needed to proclaim it and translate it into act. What Horace says of the many brave men who died forgotten before Agamemnon because ‘ they had no inspired seer ’ to celebrate their struggles, is certainly true of public life. For how many years did every decent Englishman groan over the horrors of the Slave Trade, before Wilberforce succeeded in destroying it ? Or does anyone suppose that it would have been suppressed in the United States without the genius and dauntless courage of Abram Lincoln ? Or in our own day, that the one hope of civilisation, the League of Nations, would ever have emerged from the tragedy of the war but for the intense and heroic efforts of Woodrow Wilson, pursued over two continents and prolonged over twelve months of desperate struggle, a struggle which cost him his life ? By all means be enlightened ; by all means dig out of the dust, when you can, whatever factors in a given epoch were making towards the ultimate result ; but do not let our interest in these details obscure our gratitude or lessen our reverence for the great men who actually accomplished the great end. Least of all when like Vergil they spent their lives under the burden which comes from clear vision of the end and continually disappointed longing for its attainment. The sadness of the *Aeneid* compared with the lively hopes of the *Georgics* was due, we cannot doubt, to the revelation of the powers of

cruelty still inherent in the Augustan system which came to Vergil with the death of his friend Gallus in 26 B.C. ; and if the *Aeneid* through all the ages has exerted and still exerts power to humanise mankind, it is for one reason more than any other, namely, that it represents the plea of a great thinker for an ideal of chivalry and goodwill which though it certainly and demonstrably impressed the government of his day, was still far short of being fulfilled at his death.

We have found this ideal, expressed in the most powerful form which a poet could give it, in the structure and story and spirit of his greatest poem, a poem which was at once adopted as a national creed ; and we know further that no other poet or writer of his day had given any like expression, if any expression at all, to some of its greatest aspects,—its intense humanity ; its lofty conception of Deity ; its deeply felt protest against a superficial view of the position of women in human life ; and its not less searching exposure of the tragical effect upon the world of merely nationalistic ethics. These great conceptions were given to the Augustan world, which only partly understood them, and still more partially attempted to put them into practical shape. But they are living still ; and the searching questions which they address to our own generation, and to the generations that will follow, come straight from Vergil's heart.

ASSYRIOLOGY IN ENGLAND DURING AND SINCE THE WAR.

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UNIVERSITY OF MANCHESTER.

THIS article has been prepared at the special request of the Librarian. It was recalled in the last number of the BULLETIN, that in September, 1919, the late Canon C. H. W. Johns, Litt.D., D.D., for sometime Master of St. Catherine's College, Cambridge, was to have delivered a lecture in the Library, on "English Assyriology during the War." Owing to a serious breakdown in health, it was found at the last moment that he would be unable to fulfil his engagement, but the notes of his lecture were sent to the Librarian, and with the help of Dr. Rendel Harris, the lecture was read with entertaining comments. Had Dr. Johns recovered from his illness the notes would have been prepared for publication in the BULLETIN. But that was not to be. Dr. Johns passed away on the 20th of August in the following year, and the notes of the lecture, with the exception of the first page, in the handwriting of Mrs. Johns, and the envelope in which they were sent (Oxford, 8 p.m., 1 Sp. '19), addressed in the handwriting of Dr. Johns, have been lying in the Library ever since.

The suggestion made was that Dr. Johns' notes should be summarised and that there be added an account of the Assyriological work done by scholars of England since 1919.

The order of Dr. Johns' notes has been observed, because it is sufficiently convenient, but, chiefly, as a tribute to his memory. For this latter reason, too, his actual words have been quoted here and there, within quotation marks; since they are the expression of the personal view of one who was regarded as our leading Assyriologist.

Through his work in three volumes: "Assyrian Deeds and Documents," Dr. Johns was at once regarded as the classical authority on

questions relating to chronology, the legal system, and metrology of the Assyrians ; and the science which he so dearly loved, and in the advancement of which he had done so much, suffered an irreparable loss by his death.

“ England has always taken a great part in the progress of cuneiform studies. The names of Sir Henry Rawlinson, Hincks, Norris, George Smith, Sayce, and others are indissolubly associated with the decipherment and the translation of inscriptions dated from the earliest rulers to well within the first century B.C. When they began their work not a single sign, much less a word, could be read. The system of writing was used not only by the Semitic Babylonians and Assyrians, but seems to have been invented by the Sumerians, a non-Semitic race, whose nationality and racial affinity are still doubtful. Modifications of this script were used in Armenia by the Vannic folk, in Asia Minor by the Hittites, further East by the Elamites, in Syria by native races. In all these different forms, languages still only half understood were expressed for ages. Scarcely one of these does not owe largely to Englishmen for its present state of knowledge. Our record in the past has been glorious indeed.”

The war was responsible, wholly or in part, for the following handicaps to Assyriology in England : (i) the extinction of the Society of Biblical Archæology and the suppression of its valuable *Proceedings* ; “ since its foundation by Birch and Bonomi in 1870, it constituted the chief journal devoted to Assyriology, Egyptology, and Semitic Archæology in general, handmaids of Biblical research ; the only available depository of English scholarship in Assyrian, Babylonian, Sumerian, and kindred subjects.” Many of its members, its library, and other property have been transferred to the Royal Asiatic Society ; (ii) the break in intercourse between English and Central European Assyriologists and publications, and the lack of the stimulus which this intercourse gave ; (iii) the closing of the British Museum, in fear of enemy aircraft, made its cuneiform wealth inaccessible, and the continued publication of “ Cuneiform Tablets in the British Museum ” impossible ; (iv) the few French publications of this period were hard to obtain ; (v) America too, as the war drew on, fell off ; (vi) King became ill and died 1919 ; Dr. Campbell Thomson was serving in Mesopotamia with the British army (with good results or Assyriology, happily) ; Bedale of Manchester became army chap-

lain and died soon after his return home; and other scholars were distracted by new occupations.

"Pure Assyriology may be considered as embracing the language and literature of Assyria and Babylonia. In the matter of language, fresh elucidations of grammatical principles and contributions of fresh words and meanings to the Assyrian lexicon may be dry subjects for the general reader, but . . . for future progress, are of more value than the most acute discoveries of possible bearings on other languages and literatures. An article by Langdon (AJSL. XXXI. 271 f.) on the Etymology of the Babylonian Relative Pronoun with critical notes on Sumerian and Assyrian words, is of this type. . . . The addition of a new Syllabary embodies the opinions of native Babylonian grammarians and lexicographers on their own tongue, and such opinions are of unrivalled value for the study of the language. The *Yale Syllabary* allows Langdon to do much in this direction, by a comparison with already well known texts (PSBA. XL. 133 f.), and enabled Johns to set in a new light the well-known Babylonian measures of capacity and the methods of indicating them (PSBA. XL. 136 f.), and incidentally the relation between the Babylonian and Hebrew measures has become much clearer. Col. Watson produced a number of fresh results for the Babylonian measures of lengths (ib. XXXVII. 60 f.); lexicographical notes (ib. XXXVIII. 37 f.) deal with notable additions to both Sumerian and Babylonian dictionaries; Sayce (ib. XXXIX. 207 ff.) contributes a number of Assyriological notes; Johns published (AJSL. XXXIV. 60 ff.) a discussion of Prince Ashurbanipal's Reading Book and some related tablets, with many valuable additions to previously known texts. (Thus) real progress has been made in the fixation of words and constructions; (only thereby) can the interpretation of a dead language in the absence of ready made grammar and lexicon become comprehensible to modern readers, and form a sound basis for linguistic interpretation."

Especially valuable for the interpretation of the language are "the historical inscriptions with their set phrases which help to interpret one another (and) afford fresh material for history and knowledge of the social life of the people." Dr. King's publication of two new foundation inscriptions from the royal palace of Erech (PSBA. XXXVII. 22 f.), Langdon's examination of some new inscriptions of Nabonidus (AJSL. XXII. 102 f.), Johns' publication of a record of a religious

foundation, probably at Harran (PSBA. XL. 117 f.), and the discovery of an overlooked fragment of the Babylonian Chronicle relating to the little known period of Babylonian history just before the time of Merodach Baladan and Hezekiah, are all important contributions to history.

New contributions to literature were chiefly religious in type. Langdon's find at Philadelphia of the Nippur Sumerian legends of the Flood and the Fall, as he thinks (PSBA. XXXVI. 188 f.), followed by a discussion, continued by Sayce (196 f.), caused a sensation. "Until more evidence is available to allow the literary sources to be satisfactorily grouped, definite affiliation (of the Biblical account) is out of the question," but "the importance of an exact study of Sumerian has now been demonstrated for Biblical sources as definitely as was the study of Assyriology when George Smith published his *Chaldean Genesis*."

Gwynn published an omen text (PSBA. XXXVI. 240 f.) dealing with houses, of great value both for omen studies and lexicography. The philological results were exploited by Langdon (ib. XXXVII. 42 f.). "Not in a treatise of religion but in deductions to be made from the markings on a sheep's liver, we find the maxim 'To him that doth thee an ill deed, return a gracious favour.' The prophets of the O.T. have undoubtedly left us precepts of morality which are formative for all ages, but it is not known how much of their prophetic wisdom came to them in their observation of omens and their consequences."

Langdon discussed (PSBA. XL. 104 f.) a fragment of a bilingual liturgy to the god Ninurasha; wrote extensively on the Babylonian conception of the Logos, which had marked affinities with the Greek and Semitic views of the Creative Word, which reappear in Philo and early Christian writers; and published in Book form *Babylonian Liturgies*, dealing largely with the cults of individual gods, throwing light on the nature of worship, prayers, psalms, hymns, litanies, etc., of Babylonian temples.

Historical legends, and the historical questions raised by this sort of literature, were discussed by Sayce (PSBA. XXXVII. 195 f., 227 f.).

Pinches published texts relative to the deification of Kings (PSBA. XXXVII. 87 f. and 126 f.), and Langdon published three new hymns in cult of deified kings (ib. XL. 45 f., 69 f.).

Came 1918 : guns were silenced, spades became busy, museums were opened, scholars returned, communications became possible, and in some sense, we were back to normalities, with much to make up, of which not least, were friendships silenced or strained or broken.

Came 1928 : Orientalists of all countries met at Oxford, and, at the meetings of the Assyriological section, a German, my own Professor, A. Deimel, S.J., took the chair !

The decade between these two dates, 1918-1928, has been a period of intensive work and great achievement in Assyriology. America, France, Germany and England have done great things. There is no wish to forget, much less to slight the work of countries other than our own. All are debtors, each to the other, whether for money or work or knowledge or the stimulus of encouragement. That readily granted, we may state what is mere fact, that English enterprise and scholarship have been able to do most, in a field where each country is doing what it can.

Here it shall be attempted to describe that decade of English Assyriology, and in the lump rather than in full detail. Only thus can a mere catalogue be avoided. Some divisional arrangement may be made. An easy one would be to divide the material into (i) the work of the British Museum, (ii) the work of Oxford, and (iii) the work of other places and persons. Such a division would show up what is so obvious : the British Museum and Oxford have done almost all the vast work of the last ten years. But there are good reasons, and orderliness not least, which suggest that the better division may be this : Excavations, Texts, and a general *Varia*. That division I follow here. Omissions are due, not to ignorance of what has been done but to a wish to give a *general* impression of the extent and value of the work accomplished.

With the British troops in Mesopotamia in 1918 was Captain R. Campbell Thompson of the British Museum Staff, expert with spade and tablet. More than sixty years earlier, in the winter of 1853-4, when Layard and Rawlinson were thrilling the world by diggings and decipherings, the British Vice Consul at Basra, J. E. Taylor, visited a mound nearly 200 miles S.E. of Baghdad. He found there four clay cylinders inscribed in cuneiform, and a world which still doubted the discoveries already announced, was challenged to further mockery by the news that Englishmen had found Ur of the Chaldees !

From that time onwards, no excavations seem to have been attempted in South Mesopotamia. Now that the district was under British control, what might not be attempted? Therefore the British Museum commissioned Captain Campbell Thompson to explore. At Ur he found strata of the 3rd millennium close to the surface, a mat-burial, a couple of "school-boy" texts, many tombs, and rare but definite traces of primitive man: flint flakes, painted pottery in geometrical patterns, a piece of a clay sickle.

From Ur he went down to Abu Shahrain, ancient Eridu, shrine of Enki the god of the waters, about twelve miles S.E. of Ur. Here, too, were relics of primitive man. But *the* find was the fresh water shells, which are taken to prove that Eridu was not, as had been hitherto presumed, on the shore of the sea in those ancient times, but in a swamp-lagoon. The pottery, too, was unlike anything hitherto found at other ancient sites—Lagash, Nippur, and Umma or anywhere, but very like the pottery found by De Morgan at Susa. Were the makers of this pottery unlike the earliest Sumerians and the same as the Proto-Elamites of Susa?

On Captain Thompson's return, Dr. Hall (now Keeper of Egyptian and Assyrian Antiquities in the British Museum) was sent out to Mesopotamia by the British Museum. At Ur he cleared a palace of Ur III. and one side of the ziggurat; worked at Eridu for a short space; discovered Al-'Ubaid, four miles west of Ur, with relics like those of Eridu and as early and of the same people.

That was in 1919, but the work could not be allowed to end thus tantalisingly. Nothing more was done until "The Joint Expedition of the British Museum and the Museum of the University of Pennsylvania" under Wooley, completed work at Al-'Ubaid and renewed diggings at Ur. The finds at the former place have been published in Part I. of *Ur Excavations*, by H. R. Hall and C. L. Wooley. Summarily, they fling us into a new field of Sumerian archæology where we may fight spaciouly as to the authors of the civilization(s) evidenced there, and the superiority over, or dependence of, Egyptian culture. The secrets of a few years ago are now the focus of the interest of the world: ziggurats, their form and purpose; earliest art in all its development; metals which seem to come from nowhere; princes in perruque of gold and queens in beaded dress;—so much would have been ample reward. But only yesterday came

news of that "huge bank of water-laid clay, an eight feet deposit overlying the oldest remains in three places as much as 200 yards apart," and "on top of this a fresh occupation which carries on somewhat of the old traditions, but departs entirely from others as if one element had survived at the expense of the other." It is the Flood, say some. A mere deposit on a slowly sinking seaboard, say others. The ink has scarcely begun to flow. There will be at least two main streams.

Ur catches the imagination more than the more northern Kish. But it was a true judgment which sent the Oxford University (with the support of H. Weld) and the Chicago Field Museum to excavate there. Diggings since 1922 on the *temenos* and palace sites and the residential quarter have made two books up to date: *Excavations at Kish* and *Report of the Excavations of the 'A' cemetery at Kish*, Part I., due to Professor Langdon and Ernest Mackay. There is much new material, all important, including graves which produced "entirely new types of pottery," and a perfect bone stylus, the only example known of the cuneiform "pen."

More exciting is Professor Langdon's account of his dash to Jemdet Nasr, a mound which merely peeps up from the shadowless plain, seventeen miles N.E. of Kish, which he describes as "the oldest site hitherto excavated." Unique are (i) a small collection of red and black pots, "the first important group of such pottery ever found in Mesopotamia," (ii) 150 good clay tablets, "the oldest known documents, earlier than the A-an-ni-pad-da inscriptions of Ur I.; not a single name of a deity on these"; (iii) bricks which are flat and rectangular, not plano-convex; these evidence "a new factor in the history of brickmaking, suggesting that the first workers of this craft used a mould"; (iv) animal shaped vases. The conclusion proposed is that the Sumerians were an Armenoid race present in Sumer before 4000 B.C., and that they discovered the ceramic arts which were borrowed by, not from, Elam.

Excavations on the ancient sites must not allow us to forget the reopening of excavations at great Nineveh where diggings have gone on, with big gaps of years between, for more than a century. Dr. Campbell Thompson worked on the site with King and alone until 1905. In 1927 "he offered to contribute a small sum to the cost of the (reopening of) excavations as well as to pay my own expenses for a

season, if the British Museum could augment these resources and give me control of an expedition to dig out the site." The British Museum Trustees contributed £300, and Merton College, Oxford, "contributed a large sum, and the expenses of my colleague, Mr. R. W. Hutchinson (who offered to come without salary) were provided for by a grant from the Percy Sladen Memorial Fund." It had become clear "that the Temple of Nabu had not been entirely cleared; that there was no reason to suppose that we had found more than the interior courtyard. . . . Moreover the Library had not been found, and there was every expectation that it ought to be." In the season 1927-8 the excavators completed the clearing of the Temple of Nabu, and discovered the first two chambers of Ashurnasirpal's palace and a house built by Sennacherib for one of his sons. An account of "A Century of Exploration at Nineveh" by the two explorers gives an interesting summary of work done and is a stimulating appeal for generous support of further work on this very important Assyrian site.

Texts: Some tablets found at Al-'Ubaid, Ur and Kish have been published either separately or in book-accounts of the finds (see for Ur and Al-'Ubaid *Ur Excavations*, I., by Hall and Wooley (1927), and *Ur Excavations: Royal Inscriptions* by Gadd and Legrain (1928); for Kish see OECT. and RA. 24, pp. 89-98, by Langdon).

The Jemdet Nasr clay tablets are earlier than the two A-an-ni-pad-da, king of Ur I. tablets: one found during the recent excavations, a second, presumably of this age, but not found at Ur by Taylor, at least in 1854, has long rested in the British Museum and was recently published by Gadd (JRAS. 1928, pp. 626-8). It may be recalled that the foundation inscription found at Al-'Ubaid reads: "A-an-ni-pad-da, king of Ur, son of Mes-an-ni-pad-da, king of Ur," thus confirming the king lists which name Mesannipadda, king of Ur; but it suggests a gap in the lists which do not mention A-an-ni-pad-da, an omission which may explain the too long reign assigned to his father.

Two tablets, purchased in 1922, for the Ashmolean Museum by Mr. H. Weld-Blundell, whose generosity initiated and partly maintains the Oxford and Chicago excavations at Kish, are important for early chronology. The one (W-B. 62) gives the 10 predeluvian kings, and the other W-B. 444 gives the 10 predeluvian kings and

also continues the king list down to the last king of Isin, dated by Langdon in 2165 B.C. It is claimed that they supply the complete chronological tradition of early Sumer. Their precise value is debated and they raise as many problems as they seem to solve (OECT. II. and JRAS. 1923, p. 251 f.; Langdon).

Other published tablets belong to various dates from the Sumerian period down to the Seleucid period. The following list, not necessarily complete, is arranged in the chronological order of the events which they describe :—

Clay cones of Utu-ḥe-gal, king of Erech, who overthrew the Gutian dynasty and succeeded it; these are valuable because they are the first inscriptions of this king (JRAS. 1926, p. 684 f.; Gadd).

Clay cone of Namḥani, governor of Lagash, successor of Ur-Bau, shortly before Gudea's time (ib. 688; Gadd).

A text of Ur Ningirsu, the governor of Lagash, son of Gudea, on a copper statuette; this perhaps confirms that he was contemporary with the first king of Ur III., and implies the wide reach of Lagash dominion at that period (ib. 1922, p. 391; Gadd).

A historical inscription of Sinidinnam, the 9th king of Ellasar dynasty, commemorates the digging of the Tigris to provide water for the supply of Ellasar (OECT. II. p. 27 f.; Langdon).

Two foundation texts of a temple at Ellasar, of a wife of Rim Sin (JRAS. 1926, 679).

A contract from Ellasar, dated 23rd year of Rim Sin, by Langdon (ib. 1921, p. 577).

"Annals from the reign of Hammurabi" give date formulæ for the 30th-39th year, omitting the 38th year of Hammurabi, and for what may be the last year of his reign (OECT. II. p. 31; Langdon).

Letters of the First Babylonian Dynasty (ib. III.; G. R. Driver) an excellent edition of this fruitful contemporary source of information.

Sumerian inscription of Hammurabi, recording the building of the wall of Sippar (ib. I. p. 23-4; Langdon).

"Shamshu-iluna's (Sippar) Inscription," a bilingual text recording the building of the wall and the ziggurat (JRAS. 1925, p. 94 f.; Gadd; and cp. R.A. 1924, p. 75; Smith).

A brick stamp of Sulmaniasarid, son of Ashur-naṣir-apli (OECT. I. pl. 29; Langdon).

The new material for later Assyrian history includes : a new cylinder of the First Campaign of Sennacherib, which antedates the Bellino cylinder by several months and suggests an interregnum at Babylon, on the death of Sargon (*Babylonian Historical Texts*, 1924 ; S. Smith) ; a new fragment providing a brief chronicle of the accession year of Shamashshumukin and light on conditions at Babylon at the end of the reign of Ashurbanipal (ib.), of whom Langdon has published a brick stamp (OECT. I. pl. 29) ; the only historical text of the reign of Ashuretililani, successor of Ashurbanipal, records the restoration of a temple at Dilbat (ib. 37). Very important is a new fragment published by Smith in his *Babylonian Historical Texts*, which records the first year of Shamashshumukin, conditions on death of Ashurbanipal, and the foundation of the Neo-Babylonian Empire under Nabopolassar, from whose reign a tablet published by Langdon (RA. 1919, p. 49 f.) supplies the first Semitic prayer to Nidaba, grain goddess. Faint, but welcome, because rare, light on the reign of Sinsharishkun, the last king of Assyria, is thrown by *A Loan Tablet* dated in the 7th year of that king (JRAS. 1921, p. 383 ; Pinches).

The most sensational discovery affecting this period was made by Mr. Gadd. He found in the British Museum a Babylonian chronicle of the Fall of Nineveh and published it (1923). From this tablet it is clear that Nineveh fell not in 606, as had been conjectured perilously, from vague and tangled evidence, mostly late, but in 612 ; that the Assyrian power, driven from Nineveh, did not fall immediately, but gasped a brief existence at Harran ; that, amazingly, Egypt was the ally of Assyria against the Babylonian and her superior ally, the Mede.

There is little that is new for the Neo-Babylonian period. Nebuchadnezzar and Nabonidus restored Ebarra at Sippar (OECT. I. p. 37, 32 f.), but for all that, Nabonidus was described in verse as a heretic (Smith : *Bab. Hist. Texts*) ; his son, Belshazzar, seems to have been at Borsippa in the 10th year of his father's reign (JRAS. 1926, p. 105 ; Pinches). A note on Adumu, to be identified not with Jauf, but with a place east of the Jordan, is useful for the routes taken by Sennacherib and Nabonidas (JRAS. 1925, p. 508 f. ; Smith). A new source for the reign of Alex. IV. (*Bab. Hist. Texts* ; Smith) and a legal text of the Seleucid period (JRAS. 1925, pp. 655-71 ; Winckworth) may close this list.

Separately ought to be mentioned the British Museum publications.

of texts copied by Mr. Gadd and Mr. Sydney Smith of the British Museum Staff.

Mr. Smith is responsible for the *Cuneiform Texts from Cappadocian Tablets in the British Museum* (Parts I.-IV.) which give us the Semitic language in its most western form, and have added so materially to knowledge of the Near East of Ur III. and after.

Of very special value for the population of Mesopotamia in the 2nd millennium is Mr. Gadd's *Tablets from Kirkuk* (RA. 1926, pp. 49-161), which date from c. 1400 B.C. Their characteristics are the early Assyrian character of the writing, the strange personal names, which Pinches in 1897 had rightly described as Mitannian, and the variety of linguistic peculiarities. The matter of the tablets is commercial and legal, and includes loans, allowances for workmen, marriage settlements, deeds of adoption, divorce, and disputed inheritance. The majority of the names, Mr. Gadd concludes, are "Subaraean."

A few Sumerian administration texts have been published: *Tablets from Drehem in the Museum of Arts of Toledo, Ohio*, by Langdon (*Babyloniaca*, 1922), and some of the *John Rylands Collection of Sumerian Tablets*, in the BULLETIN, and the *Behrens Collection in the Manchester University Museum*, in the *Journal of the MEOS.*, by Fish.

Texts and studies of Babylonian religion are many. In book form are Langdon's *Sumerian Liturgies and Psalms* (Univ. of Pennsylvania, 1919) containing texts from Nippur and an account of early Babylonian ritual; *Le Poème Sumerien du Paradis, du Déluge et de la Chute de l'homme* ("enseignes pompeuses" proclaims Dhorme) (1919), practically a new book, using material from Assur texts published in Germany, and Nippur texts in Philadelphia; *Babylonian Penitential Psalms* to which are added fragments of the *Epic of Creation* from Ashmolean tablets excavated at Kish, (1927); and R. Campbell Thompson's *Epic of Gilgamesh*, a new translation from collation of tablets in the British Museum, rendered literally into English hexameters; a quantity of liturgical texts, poems, hymns, rituals have been published in articles in RA. and JRAS. chiefly by Langdon.

Our chief authority on the subject of Assyrian medicine, Dr. Campbell Thompson, has published *Assyrian Medical Texts* (1923) from the library of Ashurbanipal, and a MS. monograph on *Assyrian*

Botany. These are as invaluable for lexicography as for their specific content.

A mass of philological notes have been written by Gadd, Smith, Langdon, and Thompson. And we have a *Sumerian Reading Book*, a useful introduction to the study of Sumerian, by Gadd; and lately, Professor Sayce has republished his *Primer of Assyriology* (1925).

The mass of new material provided by excavations and study since the war has corrected and enlarged the written histories. The most important addition to books of history of this period is Mr. Sydney Smith's *Early History of Assyria to 1000 B.C.* (1928). It supplements the late Dr. King's *History of Sumer and Akkad* (1916), discusses the problem of Assyrian origins, and of early chronology. There is no other book, on this subject, anywhere, to compare with it.

Lastly, some work of Dr. Johns has appeared since his death. A valuable article was published lately by Mrs. Johns, at the suggestion of Professor Langdon who thus described the MS.: "it contained not only a new document of extraordinary importance, but the first edition of an equally important document, and the two texts (endowment-texts) throw much light on the history of Assyria from Shamshi Adad III. to Sennacherib" (JRAS., 1928, pp. 519-54). In the same number of JRAS. (pp. 321-25) Langdon publishes copies of three British Museum texts, with notes, made by Johns for an unfinished paper on the reign of Kandalanu, the last Assyrian viceroy of Babylon, who succeeded Shamashshumukin, brother of Ashurbanipal of Assyria. And a further volume, IV., of his classic work *Assyrian Deeds and Documents* was published in 1923.

We may end our summary with this grateful mention of the work of him whose original paper inspired the writer to take up the study at a date when, to the general loss, Dr. Johns was about to lay it down.

A FURTHER NOTE ON HERMES.

BY J. RENDEL HARRIS, M.A., LITT.D., D.THEOL. F.B.A., ETC.

IN the RYLANDS BULLETIN for January last, I undertook to trace the Cult of the Greek god Hermes to practices and rituals connected with the Elm tree, and to affirm that the two terms Elm and Herm, assuming the latter to represent a pillar which antedates the anthropomorphic representation of the god, were linguistically equivalent. It was, however, carefully pointed out that, even if the arguments presented were valid, they did not offer a complete solution of the Hermetic problem, and it was not at all surprising that some interesting questions have been asked which involve in their answers the further verification of the hypothesis which had been offered, and an extension of the explanations which it furnished of the functions of the god. It will be remembered that the main difficulty in explaining Hermes, from any point of view, lay in his multiplicity. No other Greek god discharges so many duties: most of the Olympians are comparatively simple in their occupations; they know their business and they stick to it. Hephæstus, for example, is more at home in his smithy than on Olympus; when he does venture in among the elect it is either to do a bit of smith's work on the skull of Zeus, or to make himself ridiculous by taking the place of Hebe, and supplying the needs of the thirsty. These are occasional occupations and amusements; they do not mean multiplicity of functions; and what is true of Hephæstus is true, for the most part, of Olympians generally. In the case of Hermes, however, we had to admit that he did not look like a god with a single origin, and there were some duties which he discharged which were left over for possible future explanation from diverse quarters. In particular we had found nothing in the supposition of an original Elm-cult to explain why Hermes was the professional guide of souls to the other world, except one rather lame, and certainly insufficient, suggestion from the side of folk-lore that it is still the fashion to make coffins out of elm-wood. One could hardly equate such a coffin with the very lively Psychopompos, as the Greeks termed their Hermes; and we had ruled out of court an explanation from

another quarter that Hermes is the Greek equivalent for the Egyptian Thoth, who has the duty of introducing the dead to Osiris, and assisting in the judgment of them for the deeds done in their bodies. Without denying possible relations between Hermes and Thoth in late mythology or philosophy, it did not seem to us that there was any primitive nexus between them, such as would satisfy the fundamental equivalent that Hermes should be some sort of a Herm or Pillar or Post.

To leave Hermes with his principal function unexplained would be another case of Hamlet detached from the Prince of Denmark.

I was glad, therefore, when my friend C. A. Phillips asked whether I had done justice to the passage in "Homer" where the elm tree is actually found in a funereal relation. The story which Homer is telling relates to the raising of a burial mound by Achilles over the body of Eëtion, the king of Thebe in Cilicia, the father of Andromache. Here is Andromache's statement :—

"I have no father nor lady mother ; my father was slain of goodly Achilles, for he wasted the populous city of Kilittians, even high-gated Thebe, and slew Eëtion ; yet he despoiled him not, for his soul had shame of that, but he burnt him in his inlaid armour, and raised a barrow over him ; *and all about were elm trees planted* by the mountain nymphs, daughters of Ægis-bearing Zeus."

—(*Iliad* VI, 414-420.)

Now this is definitely funereal, and we have to enquire why the elm in Homer is a funereal tree. Let us see if we can find further traces of it either at the entrance to Hades or the exit therefrom or on the way thither.

When Vergil takes Æneas on his dread journey of exploration of the lower world, the hero, after passing the gates of Hades, where cluster the forms of Grief and Avenging Care, and Fear, Hunger and Want, comes to a place where there rises an elm tree, from whose aged branches the forms of idle dreams depend : the description is as follows :—

"Midway an elm, shadowy and high, spreads her boughs and secular arms, where, one saith, idle dreams dwell clustering, and cling under every leaf."

—(*Aen.* VI, 282-284, tr. Mackail.)

Here the Elm tree is emphatically the tree of Hades, the funereal focus round which all the phantoms of the mind group themselves.

The next passage to which we may refer is in the story of the Descent of Orpheus into Hades to claim his lost Eurydice. We shall find his pilgrimage marked by the growth of the Elm, both when he descends into the Dark in hope, and when he returns to the upper Light in disappointment and despair.

Vergil will tell us of this also in the *Georgics*: and Ovid will have the same story in his *Metamorphoses*.

The situation is summed up for us as follows in Folkard's *Plant Lore, Legends and Lyrics* :—

p. 323. "The ancients had a tradition that, at the first sound of the plaintive strains that proceeded from the lyre of Orpheus, when he was lamenting the death of Eurydice, there sprung up a forest of elms; and it was beneath an elm that the Thracian bard sought repose upon his unavailing expedition to the infernal regions to recover his lost love.

"Rapin thus tells the tale :—

'When wretched Orpheus left the Stygian coast,
Now hopeless since again his spouse was lost;
Beneath the preferable shade he sate
Of a tall Elm, and mourned his cruel fate.'

From the foregoing references in the Greek and Latin poets it may be inferred that the Elm tree has some peculiar connection with the dead and with their progress from the Visible world into the Unseen, since we find it planted by the grave and growing where the shades of the dead do congregate, at the Gates of Hades and beyond.

A somewhat similar statement to that of Folkard will be found in de Gubernatis, *La Mythologie des Plantes* (II, 170). "On raconte aussi qu'aux premiers accords de la lyre d'Orphée pleurant la mort d'Eurydicé poussa un forêt d'ormes." This statement appears to have been transferred to Folkard's pages.

We are thus left to find an explanation for its recurrence, whether occasional, as in the case of particular burials, or secular and world-old as in Hades itself. The natural explanation is that the Elm tree is planted on the Way of Souls from the Starting-point to the Goal: it marks the track, just as a modern telegraph pole would do, and is itself a Herm by which the way may be discerned. Inasmuch, then,

as it serves to direct the dead along the Way of Souls, it may be properly described as *Psychopompós* which is the mysterious title and avocation of Hermes. Plant the elm from point to point along the Via Sacra, and the pilgrim will not miss his way. Replace the tree by a pillar, and we shall have the monoliths which punctuate the great pilgrim roads to the Land's End and the Sacred West.

Our identification of Hermes and the Elm has now led us to the explanation of the chief function of our complex deity, and there is no need to introduce Thoth or to talk of Osiris.

Other questions which have reached us come from the quarter of philology, and relate to the mutual relation of the vocables in *Elm* and *Herm*. Why should we have *l* and *r* interchanged? Why should the god have an aspirate and the tree be deficient in it? As regards the first question, there is no change more common than the one suggested. The Romance languages are themselves in evidence for the *l* and *r* interchange: it may be difficult to determine how far such a change occurred in prehistoric speech, over what areas of country and at what intervals of time, but the change itself is so easy and so natural that it is hardly worth contesting.

The other point requires more explanation. We have pointed out that the word which we call *elm* belongs to a group of trees, whose names are modifications of a primitive form, something like *lmon*, which is capable, by the change of the initial vowel of becoming *aln*, *elm*, *ulm* and the like. So far there was little to dispute over. The voiceless *l* had already been suggested; but it was not quite clear how that involved aspiration. If, however, this initial letter was akin to the Welsh and Gaelic *ll*, we are familiar with the fact that this double consonant has in it a submerged aspirate, which comes out in such forms as *hl* in Hlodovic, or *Fl* in Floyd, and in Shakespeare's Fluelen. Such a submerged aspirate is sufficient to account for the breathing in the Greek and Latin Hermes. As a matter of fact an *elm-wood* in Welsh appears as *Llwyfein*, but it is supposed that this is a modification of an earlier *leimanion* (query, *lleimanion*). I leave it to Gaelic scholars to deal with any residual difficulty.

No doubt there are other questions which will come up for discussion in connection with this latest explanation of Olympian dignities. The chief value of the present note is to show a possible explanation of the title of *Psychopompos* applied to Hermes as the Guide of the Dead.

THE REV. RICHARD BAXTER AND HIS LANCA- SHIRE FRIEND MR. HENRY ASHURST.

BY F. J. POWICKE, M.A., PH.D., D.D.

BAXTER seems never to have been in Lancashire, but his most intimate and honoured friend, among laymen, was a Lancashire man, and of ancient Lancashire stock. The name Ashurst¹ is still attached, it is said, to a Beacon Hill in the township of Dalton, nr. Wigan—a reminiscence of the time when the Ashursts were its chief people. At least as far back as the reign of Henry III. (1216-1257) they held land there; and, soon after 1598 they became sole lords of the manor—having bought out, or otherwise acquired, what had been the possessions of the Orrels and Bradsaghs (Bradshaws). A distinguished member of the family was Adam Ashurst, who fought in the French Wars under Edward III. (1336-1360), was knighted and accorded grants of land in Essex and Herts. Down to the Reformation the family would be Romanists, but William Ashurst, first lord of the manor, was reported in 1590 to be “soundly affected in religion”; and from him, no doubt, his descendants inherited their clear Protestant stamp. He died in 1618, and was succeeded by his eldest son Henry, who married Cassandra, “daughter of John Bradshaw of Bradshaw, of the same county, Esquire.” He was, says Baxter, “a gentleman of great Wisdom and Piety, and zealous for the Reformed Religion in a Countrey (County) where Papists much abounded.” He was one of the few who openly protested against the second Book of Sports, issued by Charles I. in 1633; and when on one occasion the Papists “sent a Piper not far from the Chappel to draw the people from the public worship” Mr. Ashurst, being “a Justice of the Peace (as his ancestors had been), sent him to the

¹ In 1285 it appears in the form *de Aschehyrst*. Later, it is *de Assherst*, *Asshhurst*, *de Asshehurst*. Finally, in 1577, it is *Ashhurst*, then, more usually, *Ashurst* (Ekwall's “Place-names of Lancashire,” Chetham Society's Publication, 1922. The etymology is O.E. *aesc-hyrst* = ashhill.

house of correction." For this he was complained of to the King and Council and "put to justifie the loyalty of what he did, at the assizes : which he so well performed that the judge was forced to acquit him (though he was much contrary to him). . . ." Henry died about 1645 leaving three sons and three daughters. Baxter does not mention the daughters—Jane,¹ Margaret² and Mary³—but he speaks of William the eldest son, as "a man eminent for his wisdom, integrity and courage, a Member of the Long Parliament called (in November) 1640." He says, further, that William "was abused and cast out by the Conquering Army" at Pride's Purge (Dec. 6; 1648).⁴ His Presbyterianism was too stiff for the Army but not for the fourth Lancashire Classis, which he joined in 1646. Nevertheless (or, on this account) he was returned to Cromwell's first Parliament (Sept. 3, 1654)⁵ as one of the four Knights of the Shire for Lancashire. He died in January, 1656. Of his younger brother John, Baxter merely says that he was a Colonel, taking it for granted that the reader would add 'in the Parliamentary Army.' We find him, in fact, as *Captain* Ashurst under Colonel Assheton, taking a conspicuous part in the defence of Bolton (Feb., 1643) ; then as *Major* Ashurst, among the besiegers of Lathom House in the second and successful attack upon it (1645).⁶ In the same year, we find him Governor of Liverpool where he is said to have done good service in forwarding Parliamentary troops to Ireland.¹ In 1651 when Charles II. passed through Lancashire on his way to Worcester he showed himself inclined to him but could do, or did, nothing effectual—to the disgust of the royalists. Nor did he take an active part in Sir George Booth's

¹ Married to Harry Porter of Lancaster, Esq.

² Married to Peter Sergeant, of Newton, Co. Lancaster.

³ Married (*a*) to Andrew Stones, merchant of London; and (*b*) to Theophilus Howorth, of Howorth of Lancaster, Dr. of Physick (Dugdale's "Visitation of the County Palatine" . . . 1664-5). If Dugdale is right, as he is, the D.N.B. is wrong in making Mary the daughter of Henry Ashurst, Jr. (*Our Henry*).

⁴ While, however, the Presbyterians were a majority of the House, he managed to get himself appointed to the lucrative post of Clerk of the Crown for Lancashire (Feb. 25, 1647).

⁵ In the Long Parliament he represented Newton.

⁶ Its surrender on December 4th was hailed (too hastily) by the Puritans as a final clearance of Royalism out of Lancashire.

⁷ Newcome's "Diary," p. 47, note.

rising (August, 1659), though Henry Newcome alludes to him as one who was 'engaged' to it.¹ He was still living in or near Manchester in May, 1663, neighbour and dear friend of Newcome.² But before 1670 he had migrated to Ireland where, according to Burke, he founded a family.³ He married Elizabeth, a daughter of Richard Duckenfield of Duckenfield, Co. Chester, so that both he and his wife might be described as Lancashire born and bred, but the dates of their birth and death, or the names of their children, etc., are unknown to me; and it is time to remember that our chief concern is with Henry, the third son. The date of his birth has been considered doubtful; and so it is as regards the month, or the day, but when Baxter says we were of the same year for age⁴ we know that he was born in 1615; and the next thing we know is that at the age of fifteen he became apprentice to a merchant in London. This was no degradation of status. The choice of a business career even by cadets of a county family had, not so long since, been thought disgraceful. But the extraordinary prosperity of the merchant class, especially in London, on the one hand, and the decay of fortune among landed proprietors on the other, had wrought a change of opinion. And scions of noble houses, to say nothing of the squirearchy, are not unfrequently met with in the later seventeenth century who took to trade and lost neither social caste nor self-respect.⁵ Young Henry, then, by taking to trade, did not need to feel less bound by the aristocratic traditions of his home. *Noblesse oblige* might still be his motto. And he showed that it was *that* and something higher. His master, we are told, was 'somewhat severe,' a mild description, surely, of one whose treatment of his apprentices was such as to tempt the ordinary youth to break loose from his control and seek forbidden pleasures at Play-houses, Taverns,

¹ Newcome's "Autobiography," p. 110.

² "Diary," p. 193.

³ By 1844 'long since extinct in the male line'. (Burke's "Extinct Baronetcies," p. 17). That he was in Ireland in 1670 appears from Newcome's request to him that he would 'take a journey to Dublin.' Newcome was considering an invitation to Dublin and wanted someone trustworthy on the spot to supplement his letters.

⁴ "Funeral Sermon," p. 59.

⁵ E.g. a grandson of Sir George Croke, once the proud owner of Waterstoke, which was sold to the Ashursts, went to drapery in the Haymarket while his elder brother went to Court (Kenneth's "Parochial Antiquities," p. 492).

and perhaps with Harlots, etc. But Henry was not an ordinary youth. He had already set his heart on religion ; and “ this affection did helpe to drive him to hear good preachers for his comfort, and to betake himself to God in prayer and to search the Scriptures for direction,” . . . “ and having no place of retirement but a cold hole in the Cellar, in the coldest nights he spent much time (there) in prayer and meditation ” : “ and his good Father allowing him a yearly pension for his expenses, he spent it mostly in furnishing his poor closet with good books.” He was helped in the right way by the Rev. Simeon Ash—‘ good old Simeon ’—minister of St. Austin’s (at the back of St. Paul’s) to whom probably he brought an introduction. He not only joined his Church, but also worked for it, and made himself his ‘ faithful Pastor’s right hand.’ The Pastor’s house became a second home to him. It was there Baxter first met him, and ‘ how seldom did I visit Mr. Ash at any time, but I found and left them together.’ He commended himself to many godly ministers and people by his ‘ sweetness of temper,’ but to the childless Simeon and his wife he took the place of a beloved son. Nor did he ever pass a Sunday away from them, if he could help it, until the old man died on the eve of black Bartholomew (August 23, 1662). Meanwhile, the young man was intent on his business, and all the more so because of his religion. ‘ See’st thou a man diligent in his business ? He shall stand before Kings ’—was a favourite Puritan motto, and Ashurst did not doubt its congruence with the religious spirit. ‘ For godliness hath promise of the life that now is and of that which is to come.’ But diligence is fickle without the right aptitudes ; and that the young man had these is evidenced by the fact that when he left his master to set up for himself, after nine years of service, the master soon came to grief—so much so, that if his late apprentice had not taken care of his indigent children they would have starved. He set up for himself in partnership with one Mr. Row, a draper, his initial capital being £500, a small annuity, and £300 lent by Mr. Huet a minister. At the end of three years, Mr. Row withdrew his capital, and joined the Parliamentary army under the Earl of Essex, by whom he was made a Major, which is the last we hear of him. But, by that time, Ashurst was well able to stand alone, as to his business. Not so, however, as to his personal affairs, if it be true that he was on the point of stumbling into an unsuitable match, but was happily

rescued by Mr. Ash, who went further, and introduced him to the lady who became his wife, Judith Reresby, whose excellent qualities were not likely to be dimmed to the eye of an ambitious young tradesman by the dowry of £1500 which came with her. He was about twenty-five at his marriage,¹ and at least it did not check his prosperity. Nor did the war. In his case, as in that of many another London merchant, he appears to have thriven exceedingly during the years 1642 to 1649—although we may be sure there was no unfair profiteering, and that his contributions to the 'good cause' were always on a liberal scale. For he made conscience of every object in which he believed and he believed in the cause of Parliament with his whole heart. Baxter attributes his steady advancement to his pious integrity. "He dedicated yearly a good part of his gain to God in works of Charity; and it encreased greatly. And as his known trustiness made men desirous to deal with him, so God strangely kept those men that he trusted from breaking, when the most noted tradesmen in the same Towns broke, to the undoing of those that trusted them. . . . He usually was at one word in his Trading." That is, his yea was yea, and his nay, nay.

Baxter outlines his daily routine. He rose about 4 a.m. and spent the first two hours in reading, meditation and prayer. This was followed, before breakfast, by Family Duties or Worship. The rest of the day, till evening, found him absorbed in business—"he was a great improver of his time"—without interruption, except, one must suppose, for a mid-day meal. His evenings, as a rule, were reserved for intercourse with his family. His house (which may well have been, also, his warehouse) was, at first, in Watling Street, but, at least after 1660, he had another house at Hackney—the house where Baxter knew him, and of which he could say, it was a school of piety and meekness, and like a church. Yet there was no suggestion of gloom. Though its Head, seconded by his wife, insisted on 'godly trusty servants,' and godly conduct always, and a godly observance of every part of the Lord's day, his personal religion did not sour his natural sweetness, but intensified it, and so presented religion as an easy yoke. We shall see later how Baxter illustrates this. Meanwhile, we may note in him a characteristic fruit of all genuine Puritanism, namely, its

¹ His eldest son was born in 1646.

abundance of good works. Faith might be the saving principle, and due to the grace of God ; but works, inspired by the Christian temper, were its indispensable manifestation. The Puritan was a practical mystic, consciously deriving his ideal of everyday goodness, and his motive for it, from the springs of his faith—springs hidden with Christ in God. And Ashurst, to Baxter's delight, was, in this respect, a typical Puritan. He was especially a typical Puritan in his use of money. Money, to him, was not so much something gained as something given—which meant something he must 'improve.' He must increase it honestly, spend and save it wisely, distribute it with generous discretion. All this he did. What he gave away to individuals privately was known to himself alone. But it was known that no necessitous case appealed to him in vain. "He did not love with barren words, nor serve God of that which cost him nothing . . . indeed charity was his life and business." And of course, not a little of his charity was of so visible a character that it could not be hid. For eighteen years before his death, for example, that is, from August 1662, he gave £100 a year to the ejected ministers of Lancashire, and some schools there, and in the neighbouring parts.¹ He gave, besides, many Bibles, Catechisms, and other Books to divers places. He did his best to organise relief for the ejected ministers throughout the land by getting the 'pious citizens of London' to take in hand 'the several counties where they were born' and contribute each to such ministers of his own county as were necessitous—a scheme largely defeated by the fear that it might be charged with 'fomenting a faction'. Nor did he limit his charity to ministers. As an eminent instance of his devotion to pious enterprises, he tells the story of what Ashurst did in furtherance of the work of John Eliot, the missionary to the Indians of North America, for whom Baxter's admiration was unbounded.²

Eliot's work evoked the sympathies of Cromwell who "caused a collection to be made in *England* in every Parish ; and People did contribute very largely. And with the Money was bought 7 or 800£ *per annum* of Lands ; and a Corporation chosen to dispose of the Rents, for the furthering of the Works among the *Indians*. This land was almost all bought, for the worth of it, of one Colonel

¹ But latterly £20 a year of it went to Northumberland. Baxter heard this from the friend who was almoner of the money.

² He tells the story more fully in R.B., Pt. ii. p. 290.

Beddingfield, a Papist, an Officer in the King's Army. When the King came in, *Beddingfield* seizeth on the Lands again, and keepeth them, and refuseth either to surrender them, or to repay the Money ; because, all that was done in *Cromwell's* time being now judged void, as being without Law, that Corporation was now null, and so could have no right in Money or Lands. And he pretended that he sold it under the worth, in expectation of the recovery of it, upon the King's return." So gross an act of injustice moved Mr. Ashurst's indignation. He made it his business to obtain redress. Calling the old Corporation together, he got Baxter to meet them, and, no doubt to plead the urgency of the matter—with the result, that all agreed "that such as had incurred the King's Displeasure, by being members of any Court of Justice in *Cromwell's* days, should quietly recede, and we should try if we could get the Corporation restored, and the rest continued, and more fit men added, that the Land might be recovered." There ensued twelve months of suspense, caused by *Beddingfield's* intrigue with the Attorney General and some others, but he had to disgorge at last, thanks chiefly to the Lord Chancellor, Hyde, with whom Baxter just then had considerable influence. A new Corporation was granted by the King's decree—a Corporation which included Mr. Robert Boyle as President, some Lords, many citizens, and Mr. Ashurst as Treasurer. Mr. Boyle threw himself whole-heartedly into the work ; so, more or less, did the citizens, but, especially, the care and trouble of all was on Mr. Ashurst, who undertook it all gladly, as he did "all other Publick Good which he could do." It is not surprising, therefore, that when he died, it was the common speech of Magistrates, godly Ministers and people that "we have lost the most excellent pattern of Piety, Charity and all Virtue that this City hath had in our times."

"Some of us seem to shine to strangers, who are cloudy and contemptible to those that are near us. . . .

"But his esteem and honour and love was at home and abroad, by his Children, Servants, Neighbours, Fellow-Citizens, that I say not even by some that loved not his Religiousness, or that took him to be too much a friend to those whom their opinions and interest engaged them against."

And why ? Looking to the deepest cause, "It was (says Baxter) the Image of Christ and the fruits of His holy Doctrine and His Spirit" in him.

"1. His *Religion* was only the *Bible*, as the Rule. He was a *meer Scripture Christian*, of the *Primitive Spirit* and Strain. No Learning signified much with him but what helped him to understand the Scripture. The Bible was his constant Book, and in it he had great delight. And he loved no Preaching so well as that which made much and pertinent use of Scripture, by clear exposition and suitable application. He liked not that which worthy Dr. *Manton* was wont to call *Gentleman Preaching*, set out with fine things and laced and gilded, plainly speaking *self-preaching*, *man-pleasing* and *pride*: for when Pride chooseth the Text, the method and the style, the Devil chooseth it, though the matter be of God. . . .

"2. He neither much studied books of controversie nor delighted in discourse of any of our late differences. I scarce ever heard him engage in any of them. But his constant talk was of practical matter, of God, of Christ, of Heaven, of the Heart and Life, of Grace and Duty, or of the sense of some practical Text of Scripture. He so little savoured and minded the quarrels that many lay out their greatest zeal on, and find matter in them to condemn and backbite one another, that he either carried it as a stranger, or an adversary, to such discourse.

"3. Accordingly, while Men were guilty of no damning Heresie or Sin but held all great and necessary Truths in love and holiness and righteousness of Life, he made little difference in his Respects and Love. A serious godly Independant, Presbyterian or Episcopal Christian was truly Loved and Honoured by him. Indeed he Loved not *Church Tyranny* nor *Hypocritical Images of Religion* on one hand, nor *confusion* on the other; but the Primitive Spirit of *Seriousness*, *Purity* and *Charity* he valued in all. A differing tolerable opinion never clouded the glory of sincere Christianity in his eyes. He was of no Sect and he was against Sects as such, being of 'a truly Catholick Spirit; but he could see true godliness and honesty in many whose weakness made them culpable in too much adhering to a Side or Sect.'

"4. He greatly *hated backbiting and obloquy*. *Speak evil of no man* was a Text which he often had in his mouth. I never knew any *noted Men* so free from that vice as Judge *Hale* and Mr. *Ashhurst*. If a Man had begun to speak ill of any Man behind his back either they would say nothing or divert him to something else, and shew their distast of it. *Sin* he would speak against but very

little of the *Person*. Only one sort of Men he would take the liberty to express his great dislike of ; and that was *The Hinderers of the Gospel*, and *Silencers of faithful Preachers of it*, and *Persecutors of Godly Christians* and *Oppressors of the Poor*: and their pretenses of *Government* and *Order*, and talk against *Schism*, could never reconcile him to that sort of Men. But his distast was never signified by scurrility nor anything that savoured of an unruly or seditious Spirit.

"5. His Heart was set on the hallowing of God's Name, the coming of his Kingdom, and the doing of his will on Earth as it is done in Heaven, on the propagating of Religion, and encouraging all able faithful Preachers and Practicers of it to his power.

"6. 'Some may think that he wanted a publick spirit because he avoided being a Magistrate and payed his Fine rather than take an Alderman's place. But it was only to keep the peace of his Conscience, which could not digest (a) the Corporation Declaration and Oath, nor (b) the execution of the Laws against Nonconforming Ministers and People. . . . Yet I never heard him speak uncharitably of those worthy Men who do what he refused, supposing that they in *words* or *writing*, declared as openly as they *swore* and *took the Declaration*, that they took it but in such or such a lawful sense : though he could not do so himself.'

"7. But he was so far from lacking a public spirit that 'he had an earnest desire of the welfair of the City that it might flourish in Piety, Sobriety, Justice and Charity, and that good men might be in power—believing that the welfair of the World lieth not so much in the *forms* of *Government* as in the *goodness* of the *Men* ; and that that is the *best form* which best secureth us from bad Men. And all such services as he could do, no Man was readier to do, as, when he was Master of the Merchants Taylors company and on many other occasions, he shewed. His Relations tell me that he then gave them (*i.e.* the company) about 300£ of his own money, and greatly promoted the improvement of their Stock, to the rebuilding of their Hall and abatement of their debts.'

"8. He never was a Souldier, even when *London* was a Garrison but always for the ways and works of Peace. He was ever against

¹ It seems clear from this that he was never an 'Alderman' though so called ; and even by Baxter himself, at least once [R.B. iii. 189].

Tumults, Sedition, and Rebellion ; and I never heard a word from him injurious to the King and higher Powers. He was greatly troubled at the last resistance¹ made by the Assemblies in *Scotland*, and glad when his Letters thence told him that they were but a few hotheaded Men, whom the generality of the godly Presbyterians disclaimed and would oppose. *Peace* was his temper, and *Peace with all Men* to his power he kept and promoted, and I never knew Man that lived in more Peace with his conscience, and with all Men good and bad. I never heard that he *was an Enemy*, or *had an Enemy*, save Sin, the Devil, the World, and the Flesh, as all good Men renounce them. Nay I never heard of any one Man that ever spoke evil of him, so strange a reconciling power hath such a Mind and such a Life.

“9. He excelled all that ever I knew in the Grace of *meekness* ; and Christ saith *That such shall inherit even the earth*. For Men know not how to fall out with such, while (*i.e.* so long as) no publick employment doth, by cross interest, cause it. They that were nearer to him than I, say that they never saw him in any undecent passion. He knew not how to shew himself angry, no, nor displeased otherwise than by mild and gentle words. His countenance was still² serene, and his voice still² calm and quiet ; never fierce or loud, no, not to a Servant. He oft used to women the words of Saint Peter (i. 3, 4, 5) *A meek and a quiet Spirit is in the sight of God of great price*, which is the ornament there commended instead of gold and gaudiness. . . . God fitted him for his place. Had he been a *Magistrate* or a *Preacher*, a little more sharpness had been needful. And though I once knew one that, for want of just anger, was too like *Eli* and could not sufficiently reprove or correct a child, yet it pleased God that *his mildness* had no such ill effect, but his Family loved and revered him the more.

“10. I never observed a Father carry himself to his children (as well as to his wife) with more constant expressions of Love, and with a greater desire of their holiness and salvation. He spoke to his children with that endeared kindness as men use to do to a bosome friend in whom is their delight. And indeed *Love* is the *Vital*

¹ Apparently a reference to the troubles which led up to the fight at Drumclog (1 June, 1679) and the rout of the Covenanters at Bothwell Bridge (22 June).

² still = always.

Spirit, which must make all Education and Counsel effectual,—which, without it, usually is dead, both to children and all others, though there are seasons when we must be angry and not sin. Indeed he was made of *Love* and *Gentleness* (so) that I may say that *Love* was his *new Nature* and his *Temper*, his *Religion* and his *Life*, and that he *dwelt in Love*, and therefore *in God and God in him*. His *lookes*, his *smiles*, his *speech*, his *deeds* were all the constant significations of *Love*.

“ 11. And no less eminent was his *Humility*. His Speech, Company, Garb, Behaviour and all his Carriage, did declare it. He was a great disliker of proud vain attire, boasting speech, and pomp, and inordinate worldly splendor, especially that which was *chargeable* (*i.e.* costly), while so many thousands were in want. He was *poor in spirit*, suited to a low condition though he was rich ; and (he) condescended to men of low estate. The poor were his pleasing friends. He loved the Rich that were rich to God, but he hated ambition and flattering great men. Indeed he was a *plain christian* of the Primitive stamp ; strange to hypocrisie and affectation, and all that is called *the lust of the flesh, the lust of the eye and pride of life* ; and the Sins of *Sodom—Pride, Idleness, and fulness*. His Habit, his Furniture, his Provisions were all plain. Nothing for excess, as provision for the flesh to satisfie the lust thereof ; yet all that was needful for right ends. No niggardly parsimony, but sparing to do good : sparing from all the ways of Pride and Pomp, but never sparing from decency of good works.

“ 12. The Government of his Family and the worship of God there performed, was wise, cheerful, grave, and constant. He worshipped God as other good Christians use to do : Besides his secret Devotions, reading the Scriptures (after the craving of God’s help) and giving some plain short notes which were suited to his Families use, Catechising and taking an account of their profiting, singing Psalms and Prayer. And on the Lord’s day, hearing and repeating the Sermons—a non-conformist preaching¹ an early sermon to many in his house which so ended that none might be hindered from the further work of the day. The whole day seemed not too long to him for the delightful

¹ A ray of light on the practice of many nonconformists of the Baxterian type : a preaching service at home and then attendance at the Parish Church.

employment of his Soul toward God.¹ O how far was he from being weary, or needing any vain recreation ! In his Family worship, he played not the Orator nor was very tedious, but in conference of good things, and in his counsels, plain and short ; much like the Style of Mr. Greenham's writings.

" 13. He had a special care to place his Children in a way of Employment and with good relations ; out of the way both of idleness and ill company, and wordly vanity and temptations. And God hath so blessed him in his wise and holy endeavours for them that of four Sons and two Daughters there is not one whom we have not good cause to hope well of, that they will in piety and welfare answer his endeavours.

" 14. Others can tell you more than I of his management of his Trade. Only this I will say, that God greatly blessed his honesty and liberality ; and men knew that they might Trade with him without any danger of deceit ; so that he grew up to a very considerable estate : And yet was never so intent on his Trade, but he was ready for any service of God, and help to others, or publick work. And those that say they shall lose their custom except they tittle and make their bargains in Alehouses, Coffee-houses, or Taverns, or use much prating and enticing words, may see here that one hath thriven more than most have done, that yet took a quite contrary course.

" 15. He was a stranger to vain talk and frothy jests, and also to a soure morose converse. But good short cheerful discourse was his ordinary entertainment.

" 16. It is no wonder if in such a life, so absolutely devoted to God, he lived in a constant serenity of mind. He that had peace with God and man, had peace of Conscience. I never heard him speak one word which savoured of any doubt of his salvation, or discouraging thoughts of the life to come. He lived not in bondage to tormenting fears, or sad apprehensions ; but studied fully to please God, and joyfully trusted him, rejoiced in his love, and hoped for his Kingdom, but without any overvaluing of his own worth or works, having much in his mouth those words of St. Paul, *I have nothing to glory of, and I am nothing.*

¹ Sheer delight in their religion is the key to that endurance by the Puritan Saints, of services which sometimes lasted five or six hours—even twice a day.

17. Last and best of all was "his marvellous *Patience*, as through all his life, so specially in his last and sharp affliction." Years before his death "it too painfully appeared" that he was suffering from "Stone in the Bladder. He long resolved to endure it to the death, but, at last, extremity of torment and despair of any other ease, did suddenly cause him to choose to be cut. Two stones were found, and one of them, in the operation, was broken into pieces, many of which were taken out, by very terrible search, and about thirty pieces, after, came away through the wound. Physicians and all present admired at his *Patience*. No word, no action signified any distressing Sense. And though he was about 65 years old, God did recover him and heal the wound ; but we were too unthankful and his pains returned—gently at first, but afterwards as terribly as before. And, after that, a strong Fever, of which unexpectedly he recovered ; and then oft inflammations and, at last, a dangerous one. And, finally, so great torment that, a French Lithotomist being here, he was overpersuaded to be searcht and cut again, and a third stone was taken away with competent speed and ease, and divers big fragments of it, which had been broken off in the first operation. Thus was he cut twice in about a year's space ; and the wound seemed marvellously to heal for divers months ; and when we had prayed hard for him, we turned it to thanksgiving, and thought the danger of death was past. But, after, his strength failed, and he died in peace. God gave him those months of ease and calmness, the better to bear his approaching change."

Surgery in 1680 was a crude affair compared with what it has since become, and there were no anæsthetics. No wonder the sight of such protracted tortures of a good man put a strain on faith. 'It was a providence which posed many of us.' It raised Job's problem over again. And though they silenced all murmuring thoughts of God by falling back on 'Gods oracles' they found no solution of the problem any more than Job. Nay, their Puritan conception of God did but aggravate it. To think of God as actually sending the pain just to test Faith and *Patience* ; and intervening, directly, to heal his poor agonised creature for a time in answer to prayer, and then allowing the pains to return because the sufferer's friends were too unthankful for his temporary relief, what a monstrosity it makes Him ! The sublime thing, which one might expect God himself to wonder at and admire, was the Spirit of Man still cleaving to Him, like Job, and still striving to

believe in his goodness, even in his love ; and still crying ‘ Though he slay Me yet will I trust in Him.’ Strange beyond words is it that men could learn to love a loveless God, and trust the justice of a tyrant in heaven, while striking down the tyrants of earth !

One of Mr. Ashhurst’s last words showed him loyal to his native county to the last. To one of his old friends, a Lancashire man, who came to see him he said : ‘ *Countryman, you and I will take care for Lancashire that the Gospel may be more preached among them.*’ There was a great scarcity of preachers in Lancashire and an abundance of Papists—a state of things which (to a Protestant saint) called aloud for remedy.

Baxter applied the moral of his subject to “ the Magistrates and People of this city ” (London)—If all were like him in the ordering of their life the Lord would make “ London still the glory of the Cities on earth ; ” to his children—“ Will they ever forget the instructions, the love, and the life of such a Father ? ” to the Clergy and their Agents—Can they still continue to think it according to the will of Christ that such humble followers of Him shall be treated as schismatics because they are unable to subscribe all the canons of their church ? When Christ has owned them and said that his Father will honour them, dare they make the “ church-doors too narrow to receive them ? ” and finally to himself—“ This pattern of Sincerity, Love, and Patience ” is “ set before me,” “ for my reproof and imitation.” “ We were of the same year for age ; and of the same judgment and desire and aim ; but I have not attained to his degree of goodness and patience. Being not unlikely to be exercised with some like afflictions, after a life of wonderful mercy, and quickly to follow my departed friend—I beg of God that He will not trie me beyond the strength which he will give me, but so increase my *faith and patience* that I may finish my course with joy.”

The foregoing is mostly taken from the funeral sermon preached by Baxter at the request of Mr. Ashurst’s eldest son, and published in December, 1680. Funeral sermons were common at that time—too common, because too often unreal in their eulogy, or undeserved. But Baxter defends them, if their purpose is simply to preserve the memory of worthy men. “ Let none think that the praise of the dead is a useless or inconvenient work. Christ himself praiseth them and will praise them when he justifieth them before all the

world : *well done good and faithful servant*, Matt. xxv. He will be *admired and glorified* in them, 2 Thess. i. 2. The 11th of the Hebrews is the praise of many of them, of *whom the world was not worthy*. . . . Christ will have the tears and costly love of a poor penitent woman, who anointed Him, to be spoken of *wherever the Gospel* is read. The Orations of excellent *Gregory Nazianzen*¹ (Greater than Gregory the Great)² with many such, shew us that the Ancients thought this a needful work. Many live in times and places where few such men are known : and they need to know from others that there are, and have been, such. Had I not known such, I had wanted one of the greatest arguments for my Faith. I should the hardlier have believed that Christ is a Saviour, if I had not known such as he hath begun to save ; nor that there is a Heaven for Souls, if I had not known some disposed and prepared for it, by a holy mind and life. I thank God, I have known many, many, many such, of several ranks, some High, more Low : O how many such (though not all of the same degree of holiness) have I lived with who are gone before me ! Holy Gentlemen ! Holy Ministers of Christ, and Holy poor men ! I love Heaven much the better when I think that they are there. And while I am so near them, and daily look for my remove, though I here yet breath(e) and speak in flesh, why may I not think that I am nearlier related to that Congregation than to this. The saying is, *a friend is half our Soul* ! If so, sure the greater part of mine is gone thither long ago. It is but a little of me that is yet in painful weary flesh. And now one part of me more is gone ; the Holy and excellent *Henry Ashurst* : and God will have me live so long after him, as to tell you what he was, to his Father's and Redeemer's praise, and to provoke you to imitation."

He dedicated his sermon to the widow Judith and her children, but, especially, to Henry the 'eldest son and executor,' of whom he could say, "I have long known you so well that I am comfortably persuaded that your Father had great cause to place that great affection on you and confidence in you which he did. Your dear Love to him, and great Reverence of him, and hearty Love to the good which he loved, and your singleness and uprightness of Mind and Life are your amiableness and better than the greatest earthly birthright." Some five years later

¹ 330-389 or 390.

² Between 540 and 550-604.

this Henry evinced his quality on that day of glory and shame—glory to the sufferer and shame to his Judge—when (May 30, 1685) Baxter was browbeaten by Jeffreys at the Guildhall, and Henry, “who could not forsake his own or his Father’s friend, stood by him all the while.”¹ He was then not yet a Baronet, though he had been M.P. for Truro since 1681.² He was made a Baronet on July 21, 1688 and, considering that the honour came from James II. just when the king was at the height of his Romish adventure, one wonders why. Was it bestowed for services rendered, or in hope that he might win over his fellow non-conformists to the king’s policy? There is no trace of the former, and the latter is more likely. Henry like his father was a ‘moderate,’ and not favourable to extreme measures even against a Popish King until the last moment; but neither he nor his father could compromise on the Papal question. Indeed, the fact of his continuing (till 1695) to represent Truro, a thoroughly Protestant constituency, is proof positive of this. There is proof, too, in the fact that Baxter dedicated to him and his wife, the Lady Diana, (July 31, 1689) his ‘Treatise of Knowledge and Love Compared,’ and appealed to him, with all confidence, to work as ‘a member of this present Parliament’³ for a complete reversal of the persecuting Doctrines and Practices which had disgraced the last twenty-eight years, and to do this partly in order to present a united front to the Papists. If further proof were needed, it might be seen in the fact that his name is on the first subscription list (July 29, 1690) of the Common Fund for the benefit of Presbyterian and Congregational ministers; and that in 1695 he was appointed a manager of the fund. In short he did not forsake his father’s faith any more than his father’s friends. As to the latter he was, e.g., the ‘cordial friend’ of Henry Newcome;⁴ and he was on intimate terms of affection with Matthew Henry whom he tried to allure from Chester to London in 1708.⁵ But it was to Baxter that he gave peculiar reverence and love and care. He appears never to have had his eye off the frail and suffering old man. In the dedication from which I have already quoted, Baxter publishes—with warmest gratitude—not to his own age, which knows it well, but, ‘to Posterity’ Sir Henry’s unfailing

¹ Calamy’s “Life of Baxter,” p. 606.

² Afterwards for Wilton, Wilts., 1698-1702.

³ 1 William III. ⁴ Newcome’s “Autobiography,” vol. ii. 170, etc.

⁵ “Life of Matthew Henry” by Williams, p. 97, etc.

kindness "during my publick Accusations, Reproaches, Sentences, Imprisonments, and before and since. Who knoweth you that knoweth not hereof?" With Sir Henry, Baxter associates his wife. She too, and her children as well, had been eminent for their "Friendship and Kindness" to him. She was Diana, fifth daughter of Lord William Pagett of West Drayton; and Baxter seems to intimate that Lord Pagett himself and his relations generally, had been equally kind and friendly. Thus the Ashurst family did much to brighten his last years; and it was but a small sign of appreciation when Baxter made Sir Henry one of his executors.¹ A far greater sign lay in his description of him as the "Heir and Imitator" of his father's "Faith, Piety, Charity, Patience, Humility, Meekness, Impartiality, Sincerity and Perseverance."²

Sir Henry died on April 13, 1711, aged 65. Lady Diana died on September 3, 1707. Both were buried at Waterstock (or -stoke) in Oxfordshire—an estate bought from the Crokes subsequent to 1680³ by Sir Henry—though a property near by at Ennington had been bought by his father some years before.

My purpose does not lead me to notice other members of the Ashurst family, else something might be said of Sir Henry's younger brother William, knighted October 31, 1689, and Lord Mayor of London in 1693; also, of William's grandson Thomas Henry Ashurst, born in 1700, who succeeded to Waterstock about 1736; and of His son, William, born at Ashurst in January 1725, who acquired fame as a judge and died at Waterstock on November 5, 1807.

Sir Henry's male line died out, and so his Baronetcy lapsed in 1736; others of the same name, but of inferior quality, came into his inheritance. Not even the famous judge was his equal. The greatness of the Ashurst race attained its culmination in Sir Henry and his father. Was it not an evidence of their greatness to have discerned an ideal worth in Baxter?

¹ Though Matthew Sylvester exaggerates this into a token of "great confidence," a "great honour" which "cannot but raise great expectations of the world from" him, etc., *Dedication of the "Reliquiæ Baxterianæ,"* 1696.

² *Dedication to "Treatise of Knowledge and Love compared,"* 1689.

³ See Kennett's "Parochial Antiquities" (1818), p. 492.

A MEDIEVAL TREATISE ON LETTER-WRITING,
WITH EXAMPLES, FROM THE RYLANDS LATIN
MS. 394.

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THE Latin MS. 394 in the John Rylands Library is a volume of 54 paper leaves, 215×142 mm., in a modern binding. As regards former ownership : on the inside of the front cover is written, 'L. Richmond, Trin. Coll. Camb. 1796. Saxon Proverbs (curious).' This evidently refers to Legh Richmond (1772-1827), an Evangelical divine of some prominence, especially as a writer of moral tales, "The Dairyman's Daughter," etc. He entered Trinity College, Cambridge, 1789, B.A. 1794, M.A. 1799 (*Dict. Nat. Biogr.*) It subsequently passed into the collection of Joseph Mayer, and at his death was acquired by Edward Howell of Liverpool, from whom it was acquired on Aug. 27, 1887. The paper bears a water-mark closely resembling a "Trois Monts" design from Fano, c. 1394-1414, No. 11,684 in Briquet, *Les Filigranes* (Paris, 1907), vol. iii. Collation : a¹⁰ (wants 2), b¹², c¹⁰ (wants 8), d¹², e¹². There are catchwords to gatherings a, b, d on fo. 9^v, 21^v and 42^v respectively. Fo. 29-30 are blank, and probably the preceding leaf (c⁸), now missing, was also blank : the other missing leaf (a²) probably contained text. Fo. 1 and 30^v are blank except for a few casual scribbles. The upper part of fo. 54 has been torn away. Except for fo. 23^v and 30^v, the whole of the manuscript is apparently written in one hand, of about the early or middle fifteenth century. The scribe's work is fairly accurate, though from time to time he makes mistakes which show that he did not always understand what he was copying.

The manuscript, though written in one hand throughout, consists of two distinct parts : (i) The gatherings a, b, c, fo. 1-30, containing

a collection of proverbs in Latin and English, and (ii) the gatherings d, e, fo. 31-54, containing a Latin treatise on letter-writing, followed by a collection of letters. The two parts are distinct and self-contained, and there is no catchword linking gathering c with gathering d, in fact the former ends with blank leaves : it is quite possible that the gatherings have been misplaced in rebinding, and that originally gatherings d, e preceded gatherings a, b, c. Each part of the manuscript is, in its own way, of great interest : the proverbs in the first part are the most bulky and striking feature of the book, but the second part, on letter-writing, seems to be really the principal item, and in a way helps to explain the other part. It will therefore be convenient to take the second part of the manuscript first.

The second part of the manuscript, fo. 31 to the end, consists of a short treatise on *Dictamen*, followed by a large number of letters, intended to illustrate the treatise. "Dictamen or the *Ars Dictandi* is the name given to the instruction in letter-writing which was a subject of special study in the schools of the middle ages. . . . Dictamen dealt with a particular branch of Rhetoric, the rules of composition primarily as applied to the writing of letters, and of letters conceived in a more or less formal or ornamental style."¹ The earliest known treatise is that of Alberic of Monte Cassino (c. 1075) : in the twelfth century the *dictatores* spread through Italy and France (particularly in the school of Orleans), and there is a treatise attributed to Peter of Blois. The popularity of the dictamen continued among clerks in the later middle ages. In England, as elsewhere, the older treatises were kept in circulation, while fresh manuals or abridgments were produced. It is to this latter class that the present treatise belongs.

It will be best to begin by examining the contents of the treatise,

¹R. L. Poole, *The Papal Chancery* (Cambridge, 1915), pp. 77-8. For Dictamen generally, see also Giry, *Manuel de Diplomatie* (2nd ed., Paris, 1925), p. 488 f., with bibliography : For the texts of important treatises, see Rockinger, *Briefsteller und Formelbücher des XI. bis XIV. Jahrhunderts* (Munich, 1863-4). For the *Cursus*, see Poole, *op. cit.*, p. 79 f., A. C. Clarke, *The Cursus in Mediæval and Vulgar Latin* (Oxford, 1910). For Formularies, and their historical value, see Ch. V. Langlois, *Formulaires de lettres du XII., du XIII., et du XIV. siècle*, in *Notices et extraits des MSS.*, XXXIV.-XXXV. Cf. H. Waddell, *The Wandering Scholar*, (London, 1927), 135 ff.

and comparing it with older examples. This comparison is necessarily imperfect, as so many of the treatises remain unedited : but we shall find resemblances, for instance, with the *Rationes dictandi* formerly attributed to Alberic of Monte Cassino, but really of the early twelfth century,¹ an *Ars dictandi* from Orleans,² and the treatise of Cardinal Thomas of Capua (thirteenth century).³ We must not conclude that the Rylands MS. borrowed directly from these sources : many of the rules and definitions became the common property of most succeeding treatises. However, the comparison will show, roughly, how far the treatise keeps to tradition.

The treatise begins with an explanatory preface : then, after a definition of dictamen which almost exactly corresponds with that given in the Orleans treatise, there follows (i) a section dealing with the cadences with which a clause might terminate. Twelve types or rules are given, which may be represented as follows (accented syllable -, unaccented ∪).

- | | |
|-------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| (1) - ∪ - ∪ ∪ | (7) ∪ - ∪ - - ∪ ∪ |
| (2) - ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ - ∪ ∪ - ∪ | (8) - ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ - ∪ ∪ ∪ - ∪ |
| (3)(a) - ∪ ∪ ∪ - ∪ | (9)(a) - ∪ ∪ ∪ - ∪ ∪ - ∪ |
| (b) - ∪ ∪ - ∪ | (b) ∪ - ∪ ∪ - ∪ ∪ - ∪ |
| (4) - ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ - ∪ | (10) - ∪ ∪ ∪ - ∪ ∪ ∪ - ∪ |
| (5) - ∪ ∪ - ∪ - ∪ | (11) - ∪ ∪ - ∪ ∪ ∪ - ∪ |
| (6) - ∪ ∪ - ∪ - ∪ | |

(12) General rule : not more than three dactyls or six spondees to be put together.

All this is evidently an elaborate and rather degenerate form of the *cursus* : it is difficult to harmonize with the three comparatively simple types of ending allowed by the *cursus curiæ Romanæ* (Poole, pp. 80-3).

The treatise next deals with (ii) punctuation, the comma, the colon, and the period, and cites, by name, Thomas of Capua, and the treatise which begins *Tria sunt*. (iii) The four kinds of dictamen are given : prose, metrical, rhythmical, and a mixture of prose and metre. Here the writer agrees with Thomas of Capua : the *Rationes dictandi* gives only three, omitting the mixed style. Next are (iv) the five parts of an epistle : the salutation, exordium, narration, petition, conclusion, together with a sixth, the sub-salutation. This is in

¹ Rockinger, *op. cit.*, 9.

² Rockinger, 103.

³ Hahn. *Collectio monumentorum vet. et rec. ined.* (Brunswick, 1724), I., 279.

accordance with all three of the older authorities quoted, except that they omit the sub-salutation, and the exordium is sometimes called the 'benevolentiae captatio.' These sections (ii)-(iv) are very much according to tradition. The next (v) deals with rhetorical colouring, and the transformation of phrases : it has no obvious resemblance to the older treatises, but perhaps compare Alberic *de Dictamine* (Rockinger, 29 ff.). Finally (vi) the 'vices' to be avoided in composition are given : some of the other treatises also give 'vices' (e.g., Rockinger, 369, 437), but they do not agree with these.

Next may be taken some late examples from England. Thomas Sampson, an Oxford teacher of dictamen, of the time of Richard II., has left two treatises, MS. Harl. 4993, fo. 9, and MS. Royal 17. B. XLVII., fo. 42. Neither has much internal resemblance to the Rylands MS., but the Harleian MS. has this likeness, that the treatise is followed by a series of specimen letters, in Latin and French, under rubrics, beginning with *Primo de rege ad imperatorem*. This combined method of precept and example was no doubt a common one. Connected with this, perhaps, is another Harleian MS. (4383), containing similar letters in Latin and French : in one of these models, most tactfully introduced, a pupil is made to ask his father to present his teacher, Thomas Sampson, to a certain benefice (fo. 56^v). Thomas Merke, S.T.P., monk of Westminster and Bishop of Carlisle (ob. 1409) composed a treatise¹ which has rather more resemblance to the Rylands MS., but is fuller and more orderly. It deals with, first, the five "essential" parts of a letter (= Rylands section (iv)), and then the "accidental" parts, the *stilus Romanus* or *communis*² (corresponding to, but not identical with Rylands, section (i)) and "rhetorical colours" (cf. Rylands, section (v.)) : and finally there are the 'vices' to be avoided (cf. Rylands, (vi.)), but not identical).

It seems that the Rylands treatise belongs to the same type as the works of Sampson and Merke, and this likeness is in agreement with the date indicated by the letters, the beginning of the fifteenth century (see below).

¹ Brit. Mus. : MS. Harl. 5398, fo. 133 ; Add. 24,361, fo. 44^v : Bodl. MS., Selden supra 65 (Sum. Cat. 3453), fo. 111. The last MS. contains letters relating to T.M., apparently Merke (fo. 74, 75^v), according to which he spent four years teaching at Oxford, after his removal from the See of Carlisle.

² So. MS. Harl. 5398, fo. 138^v, 141.

The intrinsic value of the treatise, from the literary point of view, is not great : it comes at the end of a great tradition. Its version of the *cursus* seems over-elaborate, and its deliberate cult of fulsome and complicated diction must seem, to modern taste, quite execrable. Thus, the writer takes a phrase with all the dignity and directness of the Vulgate, *Ego sum puer et nescio loqui* (cf. Jerem. i. 6) ; we are asked to believe that *Humanas nequeo explicare rationes, quia adhuc puericia dominatur* is an improvement.¹ This is no doubt partly explained by the necessity of procuring the requisite combination of dactyls and spondees : the *cursus* makes a good servant, but a bad master. For all this, the treatise is not the less valuable historically. Indeed, its rather degenerate taste helps to explain how the Dictamen and the *cursus* came to be discredited and abandoned altogether, as barbarous, by the scholars of the Renaissance, to their own great loss.² Such a treatise is valuable, too, because it shows how an ordinary clerk of the fifteenth century worked, how he constructed his letters, punctuated, padded or transposed. The rules for the cadence of clause-endings, in so far as they can be found put into practice, might throw light on the doubtful punctuation, and hence the meaning, of contemporary documents.

With regard to the letters that follow, the first problem is whether they are genuine or fictitious. There can hardly be any doubt that some are genuine, that No. 29 refers to Robert Hallam, and No. 34 to the crusade of 1383, the corroboration of the circumstances seems so strong. It seems most probable also that Nos. 25, 27, and 89 refer to real persons. In other cases, where it is impossible to identify the persons mentioned, the circumstances seem to have the complication or the triviality of real life : it would have needed a novelist, born out of due time, to invent them (for instance, Nos. 15-16, 35, 55-6, 76, 88). On the other hand, No. 66 seems to be frankly allegorical, and some of the letters, particularly those of the student-parent or clerk-patron type, may well be common forms, like those of Guido Faba and other earlier writers.³ In accordance with the usual practice, most names in these specimen-letters are reduced to initials. Some of these are the proper initials (as in Nos. 29 and 34), but else-

¹ Cf. letter No. 35 : simplicity of style is at a discount.

² Clarke, *op. cit.*, p. 21.

³ Waddell, *op. cit.*, p. 138-44.

where there is a suspicious recurrence of "I.C." and "I.T.," while the name "Simon O." (apparently the name or pseudonym of the writer of the tract, see below) is introduced in the absurdest manner (see Nos. 1-4). It would of course be quite natural to put fictitious initials even while using a genuine letter.

It seems from the statement on page 340 that the writer of the treatise on Dictamen was also the collector of the letters, and in some cases phrases found in the letters are also used as examples in the treatise (see p. 339). It is quite possible, however, that some of the letters are later additions to the selection originally appended to the treatise, for there is no evidence that the MS. is the autograph of the original author and compiler: as far as the handwriting goes, it may be as late as the middle of the fifteenth century. The writer, in the treatise, calls himself Simon 'Filius Columbe,' *i.e.*, Bar-Jona: there seems no clue to his identity. However, to judge from the character of the letters, one might suppose him to be a clerk of the king or some magnate, or, more probably, a teacher of dictamen at Oxford, in the first quarter of the fifteenth century. It remains a problem how he and his like obtained from the various sources, those of their letters which were genuine. It was a simpler matter when it came to compiling a formulary from the correspondence of a religious house (*e.g.*, Durham, MS. C. iv. 25; St. Albans, Cambridge University Library, MS. Ee. iv. 20).

The historical value of these letters lies not so much in the particular facts revealed—with a few exceptions, they do not deal with great matters—as in the general, social picture they give; from this point of view, it does not really matter whether they are genuine or not. Professor Haskins has shown how useful even fictitious students letters can be.¹ Here we have some precious "scenes of clerical life," at the University, in the civil service, round about the year 1400.

The letters are arranged at first according to correspondents, beginning with Pope and King and Emperor, and working downwards. The reader is abruptly introduced into one of those controversies which arose from time to time between the Kings and the Holy See on the subject of papal provisions and reserves. At one time the King of

¹ Haskins, *The Life of Medieval Students as illustrated by their Letters*, *American Historical Review*, III. (1898), 203-29: very valuable bibliography and references to MSS.

England protests (Nos. 1-2) : at another time he is consulted by the Emperor (Nos. 5-6). The heated talk of schism and Simony is not to be taken too seriously : by a piece of irony, on the next page, the King is asking the Pope to dispense a deserving clerk from a canonical impediment (Nos. 3-4). The *plenitudo potestatis* has its uses after all. A little further on, the King writes to a Cardinal on behalf of a bishop (Nos. 7-8). Finally, we have instructions to the Order of the Garter (No. 89). The affairs of bishops are represented : how to decline a summons to parliament (Nos. 9-10), troublesome executors (Nos. 23-4), the imprisonment of a Lollard squire (Nos. 11-12). It is, however, in the struggling or rising cleric that the compiler is mainly interested, the class to which he and his readers no doubt belong. It is really this that governs his interest in great people : the stoppage of papal provisions will be hard upon the university graduate (see p. 349) : the twice-married clerk for whom the King pleads in no. 3 is an *informator in sciencia rethorica*, that is to say, a *dictator* like the compiler. Through the influence of a friendly bishop, a clerk gets the post of secretary to the seneschal of the Queen's household (Nos. 13-14) and in another letter reports his success to a friend (No. 46) : once in such a position he is expected to help his friends and relatives (No. 46, *cf.* 75). Next, the goal of the clerk's ambition is to escape from this "servile and weak condition," to enjoy a benefice (No. 53) : for this purpose, a speedy ordination may be necessary (No. 74). One unfortunate clerk just missed a benefice by a couple of hours : it had been snapped up by a royal nominee (Nos. 55-6). The necessity of patronage runs through the whole collection of letters. The obsequious, flattering tone, and "wire-pulling" involved, do not perhaps show society in its most heroic light : but still there is an ingenuousness and a grim earnestness that compel our sympathy. The flattery is, transparently, a mere convention, and, anyway, a poor scholar must live. Dig he cannot, but to beg he is not ashamed.

Above all, the compiler is interested in clerks at the university, which in most cases seems to be Oxford, but one letter seems to refer to the house of Vallis Scholarium, at Paris (No. 32). The university seeks protection against those who attack its privileges (Nos. 17-20, *cf.* 73). In another letter we are given the circumstances of a chancellor's election (No. 29). A legist, supported by the Archbishop of Canterbury and another prelate, who writes for him, obtains

a favour from the University (No. 25). In another most interesting letter, the University applies privately for papal provisions (Nos. 15-16).

The Prior of Gloucester College asks an abbot to allow a monk to take his degree, but, what with taxes and other burdens, the abbot cannot meet such an expense this year (Nos. 27-8).¹ In another letter a monk remonstrates with a friend, who, though a Doctor of Canon Law, has had the frailty to listen to tale-bearing (No. 35).

With regard to the secular students, there are a number of letters to parents and patrons, with the inevitable demand for help. There is a remittance for the industrious (No. 60), a scolding for the dissipated (No. 62). One of the letters is particularly valuable, since the student is conscientious or prudent enough to detail his expenses (No. 76). With solemn moralizing, the student announces his intention of coming home for the vacation (No. 77). A friend offers to teach him the fiddle at a really reasonable charge (No. 88). A clerk asks a friend to send him some Christmas plays to perform in his lord's hall (No. 81).

In printing the following text, punctuation, use of capitals, and of the letters *u* and *v*, have been regularized : *i* has been used for *i* and *j* throughout. Otherwise, the spelling of the MS. has been followed. Substantial errors have, where possible, been emended in the text, and the faulty MS. readings recorded in the footnotes. In several places the text is defective owing to injury of the MS., particularly at the corners of the pages : in these cases, where words are restored by conjecture, they are printed within brackets. The letters are not numbered in the MS., but they are numbered here for the sake of convenience : the same applies to the use of italics.

[TREATISE ON DICTAMEN.]

lhc.

[fo. 31.] Quoniam ars dictatoria id est lepida dictionum congeries, cum a proferentis dulcifluo prosilierit oraculo, floribus et flosculis contexta venustis, animos ex[hilarat] iuveniles, necnon et quemadmodum philomena alias precessit aviculas in dulcedine sui cantus, simili utique

¹ Cf. three examples of this type, in Bodl. MS., Selden supra 65, fo. 76v, 77v, 78.

forma ea dinoscitur communem Latini¹ ydiomatis proferenciam excedere in prestrictu. Itaque ego columbe filius nomine interpretato Simon² vulgariter nuncupatus, quoddam compendium istius artis pro lucide novellis et teneris pro illorum ingeniis fertilius imbuendis, ut per illius vestigium epistolas contexere valeant nobiliores, decrevi presentibus explicare. Sed quia quorundam quasi inconsulte statim lingua explicat, quidquid animus prefiguravit, quibus siquid iniunctum fuerit sub eloquencie fluvio probare in humani temporis articulo ut attoniti perorrescunt. Ob hanc utique causam, et quia omne dictamen, videlicet opus floridum, per certas cadencie³ terminaciones mensuratur; quibus propter sciencie inopiam, que discipline dinoscitur fore noverca, stolide deprimatur, dignum fore equidem suspicatur, ab illarum finicionibus primitus inchoare: attamen quia diffinicio dictaminis in ordine precedit ac de causa eius diffinicionem serialiter exarabo.

Dictamen est litteralis edicio venustate sermonum et egregia sententia coloribus ornata,⁴ per quam quidem diffinicionem, que et qualis sit cadencia, attente scire poterit perspicuus indagator, cuius venustatis cadencia⁵ extat, quia cadencia nichil aliud esse poterit nisi distincionis vel scissure et precipue dictionum finalis clausura. Sed dictamen dictionum ruralium est egregium indumentum, quod quidem indumentum et cooportorium radiosum, post reserandas cadenciarum terminaciones, exemplaria satis venusta intuenti lucide insinuabo. Quas quidem cadencias accipimus per duos pedes, videlicet dactilicum et spondaicum, prosaice et non metrice sumptos, et eosdem taliter mensuramus, auctorice⁶ probando, quod quelibet diccio que habet penultimam brevem, ut *dominus, calamus, articulus, cathedra, tabula*, et huiusmodi, dactilus appellatur: sed quevis diccio habens penultimam longam, ut *fenestra, principissa, regina, restauramen, et consolamen*, et huiusmodi, et similiter omne bissillabum, ut *lectum, ymber, uxor, mecum, tecum, secum*, loco spondaico debeant collocari. Quarum cadenciarum determinacio prima finiri potest in uno dactilo, cum spondeo precedente, verbi gracia: *Ex utraque animi consciencia motum vultus detegit*. 2^a cadencie determinacio

¹ MS. seems to read *cornem Latinia*.

² *nomine repeated and expunged*.

³ MS. *ardencie*.

⁴ Definition: cf. *Ars dictandi Aurelianensis*, Rockinger, 103; MS. Harl. 4993, fo. 9; MS. Royal 17 B. XLVII., fo. 42.

⁵ MS. *ardencia*.

⁶ MS. *sic*.

potest finiri in spondeo trium sillabarum, cum spondeo quattuor antecedente, et eos precedat dactilus, verbi gracia : *Presens compendium sagaciter intuentibus cum splendoris diversimodi amenitate coruscat*. Tercia finiri potest in spondeo trium vel duarum sillabarum, cum dactilo precedente, verbi gracia : [fo. 31v.] *Per cadencie terminaciones artis principium lucescit* pro spondeo trium : vel sic : *Presentis sciencie iam fructus sapidus patet* pro spondeo duarum sillabarum. 4^{ta} cadencie terminacio suam potest finire terminacionem in spondeo quattuor sillabarum cum dactilo precedente, exempli gracia : *Novellis et teneris virtutes instruere meritorium apud Deum et homines reputatur*, cui cadencie duo equipollencia correspondent, quorum primum finit in duobus sillabis¹ cum dactilo precedente, verbi gracia : *Documenta perlucida acuunt sensus nostros* : 2^m equipollens terminare potest in spondeo trium sillabarum cum monosillabo sibi adiecto, et eos precedit dactilus, exempli gracia : *Regulas siquidem perutiles vos docui et exere per presentes* : vel sic, in dactilo cum spondeo precedente et monosillabo : *Dumque plura tempora successerunt, huiusmodi regularum soliditas pluribus vertebatur in dubium*. Octava cadencie terminacio finit in duobus spondeis tetrasillabis cum dactilo precedente, verbi gracia : *Hiemalis ariditas, que estivalis virescencie est noverca, arbores frondibus et foliis spoliare convidetur*. Nona cadencia terminare potest in duobus spondeis trissillabis cum dactilo precedente, verbi gracia : *Pro multiplici adolescentium doctrina me presens opusculum fecisse enarro* ; vel sic : *Hoc tuus calamus fidei scriptura depinxit*. Decima terminacio finit in spondeo quattuor sillabarum cum spondeo trium antecedente, et eos precedat dactilus, verbi gracia : *Ecce quam sapidos fructus presens sciencia et exat commaturos*. Undecima terminare potest in spondeo tetrasillabe² cum bissillabo antecedente, et ea precedit dactilus, exempli gracia : *Siquid carissimi in presenti opusculo scripsi, quod oculos intuentium offenderit, spiritu penitencie et humilitatis disposui fore revocandum*.³ Duodecima talis est, et est generalis in quolibet opere florido ; quod dictor advertat se consuere materiam intentam ex dactilis et spondeis, taliter eam contexendo, ut nunquam apponat ultra tres dactilos⁴ ad-

¹ For dissillabis ?

² MS. sic.

³ This corresponds almost word for word with a phrase in letter no 13, below, p. 347.

⁴ cum spondeis expunged.

invicem, nec ultra vj spondeos, sed semper admisceat dactilos cum spondeis et spondeos cum dactilis, modo et forma quibus poterit apcioribus pro sua materia strenue conservanda. Preterea potest dictator de duobus monosyllabis facere bissillabum, et pro bissillabo computabitur sub serie presentis artis, ut sic : *An hoc faciam necne* : et similiter ex bissillabis et monosyllabis potest dictator facere spondeum largum, et quamvis quinque, sex, seu septem contineat sillabas, pro spondeo quatuor computabitur, verbi gracia : *Quamquam philosophi in archanis sua dicta mutarent, tamen noluerunt intelligere nisi rem unam* ; vel sic : *Scio peritos philosophos et principes hanc desiderasse scienciam et eam non invenisse* : vel sic : *Inquirunt sapientes quod non proficietur per artificium hec ars vera*.

Quidam ignari forsitan temere prorumpent, quod huiusmodi terminaciones [fo. 32.] non continentur sub serie cadenciarum : qui stolide delirant, quod inquirunt ignorantes. Nam huiusmodi terminaciones philosophi invenerunt, qui veritatem sunt persecuti, pro sentenciis observandis, quas deficile esset eis et sermonistis ac collacionum compositoribus sub una propositum¹ terminacionis cadencia applicare. Et nota quod hee terminaciones tribuuntur membris rethoricis, que apud epistolatores vocantur *Coma*, *Colon*, et *Periodus*. Et quamvis sic terminaciones habueris cadenciarum, attamen multum remotus es ab artis introitu. Nam presens ars non tantummodo in cadenciis seratur, sed pocius in dictionum egregia idemptitate, que sicut plumbum ad extra est corpus fuscum et corruptum, quod ad intra est aurum purissimum, verisimiliter et dictamen per ruralium dictionum transmutationem cum prospicuo ingenio perscrutatam pollens idemptitas fore indagatur,² ut post interpretaciones membrorum et aliorum adminiculorum epistole pertinencium, cuius opus aggredior impresenti, eam apercius declarabo. Et istorum membrorum videamus diffiniciones, quia veluti sine arboris radice et stipite fructus non valet produci nec quovismodo informari, nec sine istorum membrorum debita connexione ulla³ potest perfecta rationis sententia proferri. *Coma* idem est quod decorans vel membrum incipiens, et est prima materie distinctio pinctuosa, et est punctus cum virgula superius ducta, id est in distincionis paulula elevacione, quando primo incipimus rationem intelligibilem auditori, lanuensis in suo catholicon sic inquit : *Coma* est

¹ MS. sic : probably *propositum* is misplaced, and should go with *deficile*.

² MS. sic.

³ MS. *nulla*.

punctus cum virgula sursum ducta, quando nec sententia nec constructio est perfecta. *Cola, colum, colon, vel colion*, ut dicunt Greci, idem est quod pendens vel tenax, quia istud membrum est pendens inter comam, id est distinctionem vel dictionem brevem, et periodum : et secundum Thomam de Capua est *punctum planum*, videlicet in voce et gestu proferentis, et evenit quando *animus auditoris necesse non habet aliud expectare*, vel explicare,¹ *et tamen aliquid addi congrue potest*.² Sed tractatus *Tria sunt*³ dicit quod colon est punctum sine ulla virgula, quando constructio est perfecta, sed adhuc dependet intentio dictoris, et talis distinctio vocatur media. *Periodus* secundum Albertum⁴ in libro meteororum interpretatur, idem est quod stella seu color lucens, et est finitiva, et dicitur a *pary*, quod est circum, et *oda*, quod est cantus ; vel dicitur a *pary*, quod est circum, et *oda*, quod est via, quasi perfecta locutionis via ; et est punctus cum virgula inferius ducta, id est, in voce et sententia tamen vultu proferentis ; et talis distinctio vocatur finitiva : et horum trium pro aperiore intelligentia tale prebeo nunc exemplum : *Operibus pietatis totiens credimus inherere*—[fo. 32v.] *ecce coma*—*quociens mentes fidelium ad caritatis opera*—*ecce colon*—*per allectiva indulgentiarum munera excitamus*—*ecce periodum* : vel sic, in una consimili cadencia possunt plures terminare, ut sic : *Nos enim vere scimus et cognovimus*—*coma*—*quoniam nulla est rerum perfectio*, inicaliter et clausaliter quas inferius diffinire luculencius intendo ; scissuraliter et distinctionaliter, ut in exemplis precedentibus ; clausaliter, ut in littera, ubi narracio est coma, peticio colon, conclusio periodus. Ymo quia superius compromisi ac eciam mea fuit intentio primeva, quid dictamen sit radicitus edocere, assero quod dictaminum quattuor sunt genera, videlicet aliud metricum, aliud prosmetricum, aliud rithmicum seu rithmicum, et aliud prosaycum.⁵ Metricum est quod pedum numero et vocum attenditur sciencia. Prosmetricum est

¹ *vel explicare* interlin.

² Thomas of Capua, 293. The italics represent his words.

³ Treatise attributed to Geoffrey Vinsauf, see Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, MS. 217, 11 (M. R. James, *Catalogue*, I., 515).

⁴ Albertus Magnus: there seems to be no definition of *periodus* in his *De meteoris* (*Opera*, ed. Jammy, Lyons, 1651, Vol. II.), but there is such a definition in his *De generatione et corruptione*, Lib. II., Tr. III., c. iv. and v., p. 66 (*loc. cit.*).

⁵ Cf. *Rationes dictandi*, Rockinger, 9 f. ; Thomas of Capua, 280-1.

quod partim prosaice partimque metricè compilatur. Rithmicum est quod sillabarum numero et vocum consonantiis est contextum. Prosaycum est quod solutum est a lege metrica : longa et continuacione congrua procedit : et prosaycum dicitur a *proson*, quod est longum sive prolixitas : et huiusmodi generis due sunt species, epistolaris et non epistolaris.¹ Sed quia de epistolari amodo principaliter pertractare decrevi, alia dimittam ad presens sub silencio pertransire, et ad epistole partes recurram et revertam, quas expedit secundum premissa lucide explicare. Scias quod scissura est anelitus correpcio, id est anelitus et loquele restauracio, ut sic : *Nunquam constantis amici verum sorciebatur vocabulum* ; scissura est absque alio addiamento : sed distinccio est scissurarum duarum vel trium receptaculum, ut in huiusmodi exemplo : *Excelse princeps, et mi domine singularis, vestre nobilitatis celsitudini cum debito servitutis obsequio humiliter recomendo*.

Partes epistole, videlicet littere, sunt sex vel quinque, scilicet salutacio, exordium, narracio, peticio, conclusio et subsalutacio.² Salutacio est brevis oracio salutari noto mentem alliciens et a statu non discrepans personarum.³ Exordium, id est proverbium.⁴ Narracio est fida nutrix sub brevitate sermonum sententiam applicans subsequentem. Peticio est oracio per quam aliquid fieri vel non fieri postulamus.⁵ Conclusio est quasi finis epistole, utilitatem indicans vel incommodum, quod ex negotio subsequetur.⁶ Subs salutacio est quedam benevolencie captacio quam optat delegans illi cui littera destinatur. Quas clausulas solebant antiqui et predecessores nostri in suis litteris exarare, quas modernorum prospicuitas solet modernis temporibus abbre- [fo. 33] viare, prout per litteras consequenter inscriptas lucidius apparebit.

Iam de exornacionibus⁷ verborum est amodo pertractandum. Nota quod exornacio verborum nichil aliud est nisi flos mellitus idemptitatem et equiparanciam continens sub cuiusdam pollencia radiosi coloris. Sed quia omnis prolata a sapiente sententia aliquem contineat colorem, et plerumque sub eisdem prolacionibus plures concurrant flores, quibus in libris rethoricis diversa nomina attribuuntur, ut repeticio, conversio,

¹ Cf. *Ars. dict. Aurel*, Rockinger, 103.

² Cf. Thomas of Capua, 281 (5 parts).

³ Cf. *Rat. dict.*, Rockinger, 10; *Ars dict. Aurel.*, *ibid.* 103.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 108.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 109.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 109, and (less closely) *Rat. dict.*, 21.

⁷ *ex-interlin.*

compleccio, anthimetobola, sinonoma, et alii quasi infiniti, que propter novellorum tedium et fructum discipline aridum iam detergo.¹ Nam color nichil aliud indicari² poterit, nisi quedam estivalis arborum virescencia, que post temperiem hiemalem dinoscitur coniungere : et ut nudi hominis honorificum est vestimentum, sic dicciones grammaticaliter et pueriliter pronunciatas, per misteria regine Rethorice sagaciter custodita in proferencias consuere possumus Tullianas : ut sic forte dicerem : *Nunquam erat meus amicus, qui mecum cito irascitur ; induere istam distinccionem*³ sic : *Nunquam erat meus amicus precordialis, qui michi pro modico stomachatur : vel sic : Ego sum puer et nescio loqui : transmuta* sic : *humanas nequeo explicare rationes quia adhuc puericia dominatur : vel sic : Quis est ille qui oblivisceretur beneficia sui domini : indicare distinccionem* sic : *Quis igitur tanti immemor beneficii a meritoria laude tanti benefactoris sui os suum clauderet obmutescens : vel sic : Quis esset, amice, qui sui benefactoris vellet grata obsequia oblivisci : pueriliter dictum est, induere distinccionem* sic : *Amice fidissime, quis esset qui tot beneficiorum insignia sub sopito silencio indebite preteriret : vel sic . . .*

[These last two examples (in the amplified form) correspond almost exactly to two phrases in the earlier part of letter No. 32 below. There follow ten more examples of elaborations, of which four (in the amplified form) correspond to phrases in letter No. 32, and one corresponds to a phrase in letter No. 13.

Nota quod in presenti sciencia potes tuam materiam dilatare, respiciendo quod principalis materia observetur, et pocius in sententia emendetur. Similiter potes verbum transponere in nomen, et nomen substantivum in adiectivum, et eciam omnia ista in participia,⁴ ut per quedam exemplaria apercius pululabunt ; verbi gracia : *Iste vir propter infirmitatis angustiam quamplurimum iam senescit : Senex efficitur et nonomus*⁵ *is quem infirmitas devastat* :⁶ *Etate senili extat iam propectus infirmitatis pretextu, qui non prolixum temporis intervallum floride pubescebat : Qui iuventutis flore vigeat et gloria*⁷ *multiformi, senescens fore asseritur pro fervida*

¹ For these rhetorical figures, see below, letter no. 66.

² Corr. from *indicare*.

³ MS. *disiuncionem*.

⁴ Cf. Alberic, *de dictamine*, Rockinger, 30.

⁵ MS. *sic*.

⁶ Or *devastavit* : MS. *devastant*.

⁷ Corrected from *gloriari*.

infirmilate: vel sic: Huiusmodi scribere meis scholaribus et posteris non desisto, quia in iuventutis gloria iam pubesco: Exemplis meis dis- [fo. 34.] *cipulis diffundere perutilia, dum iuventutis florentia arridet, siquidem non lacesco: Dum vires non latebrant iuvenes, documenta exercere perutilia meis scholaribus insudesco: Exquo victus non claudicat iuuenilis, utiliores quas potero informationes meis adolescentibus nitar pro viribus explicare, . . .* [There follow three more examples, each with similar transpositions.]

Ex quo de exemplaribus distincionalibus non modicum lucide pertractavi huiusmodi sciencie electo,¹ cum quibusdam litteris ornatè contextis meum opusculum sigillabo, quibus et normulis precedentibus aperiet seraturas oculi archani nostri, sine quibus ad huiusmodi convivii epulas non vocetur. In super singulis obnixè supplico huius opusculi lectoribus, quod nequirent[ur] quamvis mei nominis vocabulum intituletur; nam siquid inerte aut indiscrete incertum² fuerit huic dissonans facultati, nolo huiusmodi delictum alii ullatenus imputetur, sed potius Simoni forsàn temere presumènti talia proscripsisse.

Vicia in dictamine principaliter refutandi accidunt in M, R, et S, tribus litteris inscriptis. In M videlicet in fine distincionis et in-cepcionis littere eiusdem, verbi gracia: *Mediatrix nostra apud Filium est Maria, Maria que celorum est regina.* R sic: *caput tocius regni est rex, regnans in solio sue maiestatis.* S sic: *Salus nostra est Christus, Christus eciam nos redemit.* In quo loco ultimo relativum potest apercius imponi. Eodem modo accidit in vocalium collisione ut: *Sanctus decollabitur in Iunio Iohannes:* et sic reperitur collisio vocalium tam in fine diccionum quam principio.

Hic scripsi scholaribus predilectis, licet forsàn senibus neque rudibus³ non sapiat presens opusculum, ut per hoc tamen iuvenes mecum ludant qui priscos respiciant et modernos, ex eis iudicium assumentes: numquid pro iuvenibus ingeniis fertilius imbuendis efficacius fuerit ac clarius in doctrina. Et ista sufficiunt tempore pro moderno.

[fo. 34v.] 1. LITTERA DE PAPA AD REGEM ANGLIE.—Innocencius servus servorum Dei inclito filio nostro Simoni O. regi Anglie illustri salutem et nostram apostolicam benediccionem. Cum ad nostrum officium pertinet apostolicum beati Petri naviculam in fluctibus

¹ MS. sic.² For insertum?³ MS. rudis.

pelagi procellosis felici remige gubernare, et ut nobis insinuacione veredicta asseritur, quod in vestris consiliis verum eciam et parliamentis nonnulli sancte matris ecclesie extant preuigni,¹ qui suis perniciosis machinacionibus iura nostre sedi apostolice actenus usitata subtrahere moliantur, quorum temerariis ficticiis vostra dinoscitur filiatio minime connivere, ut sponse nostre ecclesie spurius nequaquam uterinus, in universalium Christicolarum et spiritualis perdicionis periculum multiforme. Eapropter vestre filiacioni scribere decrevimus per presentes, ut pastor mansuetus in illesi roris pascuis oves suas nititur confovere, vos salubriter consulentes, ut promptioribus² more solito beneficia adipiscantibus nostram sedem adire et maria sulcare licenciam tribuat, necnon et quod nostri fratres cardinales beneficia regni vestri eisdem ex illesa vestrorum nobilium progenitorum consciencia iure patrimonii antiquitus concessa vestra velit filiatio annuere ut petitur, attendens, fili carissime, quod quin promptius nostre legacionis petita conemini adimplere et enormia reserare, vos et vestros vestro regimini subjectos pro cismaticis et non orthodoxe fidei filiis apostolica benignitas reputabit. Filiacionem vestram in fide catholica confirmet, qui suum vos elegit sui populi in ductorem.

2. RESPONSIO.—Beatissime pater, filiali debita recommendacione premissa: verumtamen et non immerito quibusdam miraculis cordis nostri intrinseca opilantur,³ pro eo quod in vestris litteris nobis quinto die Augusti porrectis enormia et nostre regalitati preiudicialia demandastis, ex quibus devota populi caterva possit infici, et cum eorum pestiferis infeccionibus callide perfedari, videlicet quod promptioribus vestram sanctam sedem arripere volentibus maria sulcare licenciam annueremus: eidem sanctitati vestre significamus presencium cum tenore, quod tot personis ignaribus per huiusmodi proviciones simoniacas opilata fuit ecclesia Anglicana, quod pro salubrium documentorum defectu populus qui sacro solebat pagina educari in non modicis vite sincere eroniis deliravit: verumeciam et beneficia que ut asseritis ad vestros confratres iure debuerint pertinere, huiusmodi rectoribus et vicariis inhonestis actenus fuerunt occupata, de quorum vita et moribus quam loqui est sanius⁴ incilere. Et scribitur quod ignominia

¹ Sic.

² Corr. from *promsioribus*.

³ Cf. identical phrase in No. 30, which is almost certainly genuine, so that the suspicion, if any, of plagiarism must lie with No. 2. Possibly we have simply the independent use of a common cliché.

⁴ MS. *sanus*.

pastoris est peccatum populi, quod quilibet princeps¹ Cristianus tenetur iuridice reserare. Itaque pater sancte huiusmodi ex debito postulare, que summum polorum sacerdotem dinoscuntur ad iracundiam provocare, vestre consciencie scrinium verecundia [fo. 35.] rubricaret, et que per dignitatem nostram regiam compellimur refrenare. Alia pater sancte vestre beatitudini scribere non decrevimus per presentes, scilicet quod huiusmodi postulaciones satagatis minime demandare, quia eas annuere nolumus, nec regni nostri populum propter pastoris absenciam fore sinere novercatum. Almam et sanctam paternitatem vestram ad totius Christianitatis salubre regimen diu custodiat prosperam summus pontifex Ihesus Christus.

[1-2. These letters do not seem to be in Rymer's *Foedera*, and one cannot be certain whether they are genuine or not. There are, however, similar protests throughout the fourteenth century: *cf.* the papal protests against 'novelties' attempted against the Roman Church, and against the Statutes of Provisors: *e.g.*, Cal. Papal Letters, III., 2-17 (1343-5); IV., 277 (1391), 288 (1394), 299 (1396): and for the cardinals' benefices, see Cal. Papal Letters, II., 538 (1337); III., 41 (1349), 51 (1352), 71 (1342), 468 (1352). For the language of the King's response, see a similar protest in Rymer's *Foedera*, V., 385 (1343). In view of the date of the other letters in this collection, it seems likely that these letters, if genuine, were connected with the renewal of the Statutes of Provisors in 1390 (*Statutes of the Realm*, II., 69-74), or in 1407 (*op. cit.*, II., 161).]

3. DE REGE AD PAPAM.—Sanctissime pater, cum debita recommendatione premissa, vestre beatissime paternitati nos intime commendamus. Beatissime pater, presertim et non immerito erga predilectum clericum nostrum Simonem O. egregium in sciencia rethorica informatorem animum sincere dileccionis habentes, dum ipsius altum respicimus in sudorem ac instanciam, quibus in nostris litteris ascribendis cotidianis temporibus dinoscitur perseverare, et dum ad ipsius circumspecte discrecionis industriam, preter scienciarum fecunditatem, qua preditur dono Altissimi, mentis aciem extendimus, dum ipsius [labo]res assid[uos] necnon diuc[ius ?] probate² fidelitatis obsequia aliaque supergrandia virtutum merita animadvertimus et pensamus, debitum censemus et honestum, ut status[. .]decorem et[. .]menta pro[. . .]leo atten[cius] promovere³ studeamus, quod honoris et

¹ interlin.

² *Extendimus*—*probate*] added in right margin, partly cut away.

³ *ut*—*promovere*] added in right margin, partly cut away.

utilitatis vestre sedis apostolice indiciis frequentioribus se amatorem avidum confidenter ostendat, et quo in exercicio rei publice circa nostra dirigendo negocia se curis assiduis promcius interponit. Quapropter beatitudinem vestram omni qua possumus affectione rogamus, quatinus eundem clericum nostrum, licet olim denuo coniugatum, modernis temporibus attamen a iugo matrimonii libere dissolutum, qui inter ceteros nobis quavis specialitate coniunctos digne promeruit amplis preferri favoribus, circa cuiuslibet honoris sui promotionem et commodi suscipere dignemini recommissum, sic quod per apostolica munera et dispensaciones vestre paternitatis favorabiles ad gradum promoveri valeat sacerdotalem : Sic nos si placeat contemplantes in ipso, ut arridente loci et temporis qualitate, has preces nostras sibi profuisse letetur, nos que proinde ad vestre sanctitatis beneplacita multo magis teneamur. Almam personam vestram diu et prospere conservet Altissimus ad felix regimen ecclesie sponse vestre.

4. RESPONSIO.—Simon servus servorum Dei, serenissimo filio nostro Henrico regi Anglie honorifico, salutem et nostram apostolicam benedictionem. Quia per vestras concepimus litteras nobis pro Simone O. clerico vestro viro utique variis virtutum titulis non modicum adornato, ut eundem per donaria apostolica ad summum sacrorum ordinum sacerdocium vestre contemplacionis intuitu¹ vellemus sollevare ; [fo. 35y.] eidem filiacioni vestre per scripta apostolica significamus, quod per binariam coniugacionem extitit tam violabiliter maculatus fere in bigamo articulo, quod illi vix dispensacionis antidotum potuimus impertiri, ut per scripta nostra filiacioni vestre porrecta patescere agnoscat. Attamen petitionis vestre votum qua valuimus ampliore preferencia supplevimus, ut lator presencium vive vocis oraculo vestre regie filiacioni illud apercius insinuabit. Et filiacionem vestram diu attollat in prosperis Rex celicus Deus ipse.

[3-4. Date uncertain. By the end of the fourteenth century, marriage was beginning to be tolerated among the King's clerks, even in the Chancery, though in theory it was forbidden. See Professor T. F. Tout in *Essays in History presented to R. L. Poole* (Oxford, 1927) 82 ; *Chapters in Mediæval Administrative History* (Manchester, 1928) III., 209. To have been twice married constituted a canonical impediment to ordination : there is a special title *de bigamis non ordinandis* in the Decretals of Gregory IX. (Lib. I., tit. xxi) and the Sext (Lib. I., tit. xii). Cf. Thomassin-Bourassé, *Dictionnaire de discipline ecclesiast-*

¹ MS *intui*.

tique (Paris, 1856), I., 244. The Pope seems to promise some sort of solution.]

5. DE IMPERATORE AD REGEM ANGLIE.—Reverende domine et frater precarissime. Ea lex est amicitie ut voluntates mutuas¹ sine offensione qualibet conferamus. Idcirco frater precarissime huiusmodi delirata, que universam enervare valeant polliciam, ex gremio apostolico recenter obrupta vestre inclite fraternitati decrevimus propalare : nam ea per primevum milicie iuramentum totis potenciarum viribus astringimur refrenare. Cum iam sanctissimus pater per edictum singulis Christianitatis terris et provinciis delegavit, quod nullus regnancium princeps, cuiuscunque excellencie extiterit, vel dignitatum ecclesiasticarum patronus aliquis, ex auctoritate propria vel regali prerogativa, episcopatus vel dignitates ecclesiarum aliquas suis clericis vel aliis personis quibuscumque absque sua licencia apostolica valeant prestolari, que quidem Simoniaca presumpcio, dummodo universalis ecclesia per nostras orthodoxe fidei antecessores suis temporalibus actenus extitit perdotata, per filios sedis apostolice uterinos debeant resarari ; ne forsitan devotus Christicolarum cetus per eminentem pastoris ignominiam in manus adversarii rapiatur. Super quo vestrum afflagitemus consilium nobis quacumque possibilitate celeritatis destinandum cum aliis singulis votis vestris que secte tocius Christianitatis universe dinoscuntur quamplurimum convalere. Fraternitatem vestram in honorum auspiciis attollat prosperam Rex eternus.

6. RESPONSIO.—Illustrissime domine ac frater merito honorande. Quoniam per vestras litteras per I. C. vestrum militem nobis transmissas satis lucide asseruistis, quod sanctissimus pater noster per viam presumptionis temerarie regalitates nostras, quas in patrimoniis beneficiorum possidemus ecclesiasticorum, subtrahere non veretur, super quo nostrum peciistis consilium, quid melius fuerit in huiusmodi articulis peragendum : Scire dignetur vestra discretio extollenda, quod sanius decrevimus fore remedium, ut nostras litteras deprecatorias eidem sanctissimo patri destinemus, eundem obnixius deprecantes, ut ab huiusmodi reservacionibus simoniacis de cetero se valeat abstinere ; que quidem precamina si forte deterserit, nostre legacionis mutue arbitria negligendo, iam nobis liceat ex iniuncto iuramento huiusmodi beneficia et dignitates ecclesiasticas in manus nostras reassumere et ecclesiam penitus viduari.

¹ MS. *mutuas*.

Serenissimam fraternitatem vestram per tempora longa conservet incolumem Princeps principum residens in excelsis.

[5-6. It is difficult to say whether they are genuine. They do not appear to be in Rymer.]

[fo. 36.] 7. DE REGE AD CARDINALEM.—Begins, *Simon Dei gracia etc, reverendissimo in Christo patri et domino domino I. cardinali Bononie amico nostro precarissimo, salutem*: the writer asks the Cardinal to commend to the Pope, for advancement, the following, *reverendissimum in Christo patrem de D. episcopum, in theologia professorem egregium, et eximium in arte medicine magistrum, virum* [MS. *vr̃m*] *utique nobis carum et acceptum, vobisque ut credimus satis notum.*

8. RESPONSIO.—Begins, *Inclite princeps et domine*: the Cardinal has immediately approached the Pope, who, on the same day, has given effect to the King's wish, *cum omni preferencia.*

9. DE REGE AD EPISCOPUM CANTUAR'.—Reverende in Christo pater et consanguinie predilecte. Quia per viridicas quorundam nostrorum legiorum¹ insinuaciones nobis datum est intelligi, quod noster Francie [fo. 36v] adversarius et nobis et nostris legiis ville nostre Calisie et aliis partibus transmarinis cum non modico debellancium et dimincantium exercitu iam cum celeritate qua potuerit dispendium inferre demolitur: Nos igitur huiusmodi proposito pernicioso resistere iam volentes, quoddam consilii de regni nostri magnatibus tali die apud West[monasterium] decrevimus possidere, ad investigandum quid in huiusmodi articulo fuerit² sanius peragendum: quo quidem consilii tempore pro sano consilio nobis impendendo vestram personalem presenciam interesse quamplurimum affectamus; quo die prefixo omnimoda excusacione postposita intersitis. Reverende in Christo pater, vestram conservet paternitatem diu et feliciter Trinitas increata.

10. RESPONSIO.—Metuendissime domine necnon et rex gloriosissime. Cum vestre satis liquet celsitudini, quod onus leve asseri non poterit, pro huiusmodi decrepito, quemadmodum exit ad presens, per tam longinqua viarum discrimina de manerio meo de T.³ cum cariag⁴ et aliis meo statui concernitibus,⁴ et saltem in tanta anni tempore⁵ procellosa Londonias approximare: quod quidem mandatum suplere

¹ MS. *legum.* ² MS. *fuit.*

⁴ For *convenientibus*?

³ Perhaps West Tarring, in Sussex.

⁵ MS. *sic.*

non poteram absque gravi corporis periculo, quod vestra regia discrecio, palpabiliter agnosco, minime affectaret. Eapropter de huiusmodi meo adventu dignetur vestra eximia maiestas pro presenti me habere penitus excusatum. Regalitem vestram sullevet in prosperis Paternitas increata.

11. LITTERA DE EPISCOPO AD EPISCOPUM.—Reverende pater et domine: inter ceteros nullatenus episcopos, quorum faleritatis venenosis¹ insidiis tota quasi provincia Cantuariensis inficitur his diebus.² Nam quidam I.T. armiger vepres et lollium in eadem civitate vestra spargere non veretur, non nullos Christi fideles suis venenosis doctrinis fidei orthodoxe repugnantibus inficiendo, et tantam laicalis brachii sibi potenciam applicuit, quod vestri ministri in ea parte existentes illi penam iniungere non valeant pro commissis. Eapropter vestre paternali reverencie describere iam decrevimus per presentes, eandem sagaciter consulendo, quatenus priusquam doctrina huiusmodi indocta radicitus sepe videatur, digna affliccio transgressoribus impendatur. Nam horridum est quod tanta immanitas in huiusmodi personis laicalibus debeat³ sic fulciri. Ad ecclesie vestre et animarum felix regimen vobis concedat Altissimus successus prosperos et longevos.

12. RESPONSIO.—Venerabilis frater et domine preconstantissime; litteris vestris cum earum tenore penitus intellectis, quarum serie nostris auribus intonuit miro modo, [fo. 37] quod talis armiger suis damnatis assercionibus infra provinciam nostram, dum in regiis perstamus negociis, populum Christi fidelem inficere machinatur in tanto quod iura ecclesiastica et primicias Deo et suis ministris a primevo mundi primordio elargitis eundem ortatur callide resarare: attendentes confrater reverende, quod regiam obtinuimus licenciam cum tocius cleri consilio generali eundem carceriis committere, ibidem per totum vite sue circulum sub penali angustia permansurum. Et summus Consiliarius qui Patris Sophia merito nuncupatur vobis concedat dies prosperos et longevos.

[11-12. From the reference to 'our province,' the writer of 12 is evidently an archbishop: perhaps Abp. Courtenay, of Canterbury, who was one of the regents in 1386 (*regiis . . . negociis*), and in the same year received power to imprison heretics (cf. Workman, *John Wyclif*, II., 387). Or the letter may possibly belong to the period of the Blackfriars Synod, 1382. As to the identity of the Lollard gentleman, the initials I.T. are common in these letters, and give no clue.]

¹ MS. *venosis*.

² This sentence is corrupt.

³ MS. *debeant*.

13. LITERA DE CLERICO AD EPISCOPUM.—Reverendissime in Christo pater et domine, unice domine ac meum refugium singulare dignis ac variis virtutum insigniis multipliciter attollende; Vestram reverendam dominacionem, de qua temporibus transactis sine meis meritis grata reciperam liberalitatis donatura, sincere cordis intuitu veraciter habeo commendatum, ac ampliori prerogativa eam dixi specialius extollendam, quo futuris dierum successibus per exhibicionem¹ operis et officium servitutis sub alis dominacionis vestre pociora spero premia promereri: attendentes insuper reverendissime domine, quod ubi eminens reperitur discrecio, ibidem existit sanius concilium requirendum. Item reverende domine, siquid honoris subditis impendatur, hoc proculdubio in Domino retorquetur.² Cum itaque domina regina in Angliam, ut speratur, noviter sit ventura, sub cuius dominacionis umbraculis, si placeat, ferventer cupio edoceri, quapropter, si reverencie vestre pro mei status incremento congruum videatur et oportunum, sub sue excellencie subire servitium meo statui condignum sub vestri favoris fiducia me conformarem libenter arbitrio vestre voluntatis; protestans attamen, quod siquid scripsi in presenti, quod oculos intuentis offenderit, spiritu penitencie et humilitatis disposui totaliter fore revocandum.³ Almam paternitatem vestram diu custodiat Altissimus incolumem et semper de bono in melius eam faciat sullevari.

14. RESPONSIO.—Care, cum per tuam concepimus litteram, quod in hospicio domine regine quoddam officium tuo statui competens subire affectas animo cum ferventi, tue dileccioni significamus presencium cum tenore, quod I. C. electus est in sui hospicii senescallum, penes quem talem et tantam adhibuimus mediacionem, quod sui secretarii officium et industriam [fo. 37v] possidetis, per quod quidem officium infra non modica temporis curricula gradum attingere poteritis alciorem, Domino tribuente, qui vobis concedat ad punctum scandere peroptatum.

[13-14. Cf. no. 45-46, evidently concerning the same clerk.]

15. ITEM LITERA AD EPISCOPUM.—Reverende pater, vestre bonitatis excellencia reverenda celeri fama nota preconio longepositis regionibus promulgata, que pauperum precibus aperire solet viscera pietatis, ac eorum negocia promovere, nobis prebet audaciam iam scribendi, ut puta in creacione domini I. summi pontificis faciebat,⁴

¹ *Corporis* expunged.

² Cf. above, p. 339.

³ Cf. above, p. 335.

⁴ MS. sic.

quamquam ut supponimus littere¹ nostre nequaquam fuerunt vestro conspectui presentate ; que utrum perditæ fuerunt in naufragio marino, vel in itinere periculoso violenter abstracte, veraciter nos nescimus. Itaque scire velit vestra paternitas graciosæ, quod misimus ad dictum summum pontificem nuncios nostros ac litteras speciales cum humilitate qua decuit deprecantes, quatinus nobis nostrisque consociis de sua magnifica paternitate cum apostolica celeritate providere dignaretur : Ita quod ad nostrum laboriosum² studium in augmentacionem taxæ ac date prioritatis ceteris provisoribus regni preferre nos vellet de gracia speciali, precipue cum de communi taxatione sua preclara sanctitas tot clericis et personis iam providit, quod nisi nobiscum favorabilius peragatur in premissis, nostrum aliquis infra decennium de tali concessione commodum reportabit,³ quod quidem in extenuacionem divini cultus et studii vergeret detrimentum. Vestram igitur paternitatem, que rationis ducta regimine ferventer desiderat litteratas personas ad ecclesiastica beneficia sullimare, ut animarum saluti propensius consulatur, cum omni subiectione ac effectu quo sciverimus ampliori, et cum expedienda fiducia requirimus ac rogamus, quatinus negocia nostra penes dominum nostrum predictum vellitis efficaciter promovere, nostrisque nunciis ostendere benevolenciam cum favore : sic quod nostra congregacio ex toto corde⁴ vobis affectionis vinculo colligatur, et tantum ac tale se gaudeat invenisse patronum, quem illustrat sciencie claritas, quem exornat morum probitas, quem sublimat ecclesiastica dignitas, quem affectu paterno apostolica fovet benignitas, et quem ab annis iuvenilibus venustavit honestas conversacionis. Diu ac feliciter floreat vestra paternitas reverenda cum honorum et graciæ continuis incrementis.

16. RESPONSIO.—Reverende domine et amice precarissime, quoad petitionem vestram nobis litteratorie [fo. 38.] iam transmissam, alias pro eisdem negociis porrectam, in itinere periculoso fortuite ablatam, et⁵ vestrarum litterarum tenor apercius delucidavit, pro quadam promocionis preferencia a summo pontifice pro⁶ tot personarum copia vobis concedenda : amicitie vestre delucidamus serie cum presentis, quod tam vigilantem erga predictum dominum adhibuimus instanciam, quod in toto episcopatu Lincolniensi, tribus exceptis provisoribus, pro quorum preferenciis littere regie fuerunt transmissæ,

¹ *vestre* expunged.

² MS. *laborosum*.

³ Sic : *non* or *vix* seems to be needed.

⁴ Corr. from *cordis*.

⁵ Sic : apparently for *ut*.

⁶ MS. *per*.

pociorem vendicabitis prioritatem. Amiciciam vestram in studio florentem nutriat Altissimus, qui sciencias pugillo continet universas.

[15-16. Apparently, from the references to the *studium*, and the diocese of Lincoln, someone (the chancellor?) representing the University of Oxford writes to obtain papal provisions for his companions, through a Bishop at the Court of Rome. It was a regular practice for Universities to send up to the Pope rolls of graduates to be promoted, with the benefices desired. Examples of these rolls from Paris are to be found in Denifle and Chatelain, *Chartularium Universitatis Parisiensis* (Paris, 1889, etc.), from the date 1342 onwards (vol. ii. No. 1062 : a fine example is in Nos. 1162-5, pp. 624-48 : see the Indices s.v. *Universitas Paris : Res : Rotuli*). There are examples of similar rolls of graduates sent up from Oxford : one in 1362 included John Wyclif among those recommended for provision (see *English Historical Review*, XV., 529 : Workman, *John Wyclif*, I., 152 : *Calendar of Papal Registers : Petitions*, I., 390-2 (1362), 402-4 (1363), 462-3 (1363), 514-7 (1366). The English graduates counted much upon these provisions, and in 1403 they obtained special permission from the king to receive them, the Statutes against Provisors notwithstanding (Rymer, *Foedera*, VII., 339 : Wilkins, *Concilia*, III., 403). In this letter the Oxford graduates ask to be given preference before the enormous waiting list of other Englishmen seeking provision, and apparently they offer higher fees. In effect, they get preference at least within the diocese of Lincoln, with the exception of three royal protégées, who of course have the first place. The whole affair well illustrates the patronage system of the time, and also the great favour which graduates always received in the later middle ages. Quite apart from papal provision, a certain proportion of the best benefices were reserved for graduates, both in England (Province of Canterbury, 1417 ; Wilkins, *Concilia*, III., 173) and in France (Pragmatic sanction of Bourges, 1438, and Concordat of 1516 ; Hefele-Leclercq, *Histoire des Conciles*, VII, 1057, VIII, 487.

17. LITTERA CUIDAM DOMINO.—Reverendissime domine, quia vos multociens in nostris necessitatibus fuistis nobis protector precipuus et adiutor, pro transactis beneficiis vestre dominacioni cordiales graciaram referimus acciones, vestram dominacionem graciosam ulterius deprecantes affectu quo possumus cariori, quatinus contra illos qui privilegia nostra diminuere aliasque nobis molestias inferre moliantur, vestre proteccionis clipeum in presenti parlamento taliter apponatis, quod iura nostra permaneant illibata ; nosque decetero pro vobis specialius exorabimus. Reducatis insuper, si placeat, ad memoriam, qualiter a mundi principio semper ubi floruit universitas gaudium¹ vel congregacio ad divini cultus augmentum,

¹ Sic.

ibidem simul viguit flos milicie, et quam cito subpeditabatur libertas huiusmodi oratorum, consequenter evanuit prosperitas militaris, prout ex historiis autenticis satis patet. Verum, quia dominacionem vestram certificare de singulis que timemus epistolaris angustia non permittit, latoribus presencium I. et C., quos vestre dominacioni corditer commendamus tanquam de nostris negociis plenarie informatos, velitis fidem indubiam adhibere. Ad consolacionem et ecclesie catholice fulcimentum Altissimus vobis multiplicet dies letos.

18. RESPONSIO.—Reverendi domini et amici merito predilecti ; quia¹ a primevis mundane institutionis cunabulis historice et palpabiliter comprobatur, quod milicies corporalis absque milicie spiritualis suffragio, que devotis educatur oracionibus, arida reputatur : Itaque, ut spiritualitati principaliter commissi iure milicie corporie, vestris rogatibus, quos mutuos reputamus, acquiescere avidius satagemus, sic quod suggestiones emulorum temerarie minime convalescunt, in tanto quod nostra potencia collisoria resistere convalebit. Vestrum cetum reverendum ad Dei laudem conservare dignetur omnipotens Ihesus Christus.

[17-18. Apparently concerning Oxford : cf. Nos. 19-20.]

[fo. 38v.] 19. LITTERA PRINCIPI.—Excellentissime princeps et domine ; inter eximia graciaram donaria, quibus regimen Anglie manus Altissimi mirifice consignivit, summo solebat attolli preconio illa spiritualis universitas, que in Oxonia continuanter viget successibus et floruit ab antiquo. Ipsa namque tanquam vitis fructifera vel salutifera, que palmites suas circumquaque diffundit, et que non² solum sitibundis ecclesie filiis eciam salutaris doctrine pocula copiose ministrat, verum eciam et preces continuas non cessat effundere pro expeditione votiva potencie militaris. Verum, reverendissime domine, predicta universitas, a vestris piissime recordacionis fundata progenitoribus, dotata privilegiis, et libertatibus stabilita, per quamplures ipsius emulos plus solito modernis temporibus contumeliis afficitur, turbatur molestiis, et iniuriis lacescitur, potissime vero per N., qui in multitudine diviciarum suarum ponens fiduciam, ad tantum nuper laxavit habenas, ut privilegia per illustrissimum principem dominum nostrum regem vestrum inclitum progenitorem eidem universitati gracie concessa, et post concessione huiusmodi

¹ MS. *qui*.

² MS. *iñ*.

usque imprensens absque aliqua contradiccione libere¹ usitata, nobis non veretur auctoritate propria surripere, nec universitatem vestram de eisdem ausu² temerario spoliare. In quibus consuete proteccionis vestre dextra contra huiusmodi insidancium versucias communiti gracia dicta universitas³ in manus adversarii reddetur, ipsius quoque constancie antiqua soliditas linguis hominum dicetur fluctuans et infirma. Quapropter ad tanti principis celsitudinem genuflexi provolvimus, humilime supplicantes, quatinus caritatis intuitu, ac nostrarum precum⁴ supplici interventu, dictam universitatem dignemini sub alis dominacionis vestre suscipere, eiusque impugnatores compescere, et pietate solita refrenare, ut ipsa sub tam gloriosi principis filiam⁵ presidio munitam fraudulenter insurgere seu privilegiis falsis et subdolis machinacionibus demollire.⁶ Nos vero qui tam nobilis principis beneficiis vices rependere non sufficimus, ut tenemur, erimus pro status⁷ vestri votiva continencia⁸ perpetui oratores. Quam ad gloriam sui nominis diu conservet in prosperis indeficiens clemencia Redemptoris.

20. RESPONSIO.—Reverendi magistri et amici precarissimi, quia per fallerata orancium et debellancium obsequia non⁹ prosperitas sublimatur, itaque rationi con- [fo. 39] sonum suspicatur, ut alter alterius in suis negociis avidus extet promovendis, et precipue quod provida milicies subditos cum oculis misericordie comminentibus respiciat oratores, quos pia militum¹⁰ devocio privilegiis et libertatibus predotavit: quamobrem vestris petitionibus avidius condescendemus, sic quod nimias dicti emuli vestri vel alterius suggerentis machinaciones seu versucias¹¹ per timescere non debetis. Cetum vestrum florentem custodiat et in studio vigentem, qui in ramis¹² residet cuncta regens.

[fo. 39.] 21. LITTERA AD EPISCOPUM.—Since the bishop *viros scholasticos gradantes libencius ad honores provehit et exaltat*, the writers (apparently a University), commend *dilectum confratrem vestrum (sic) magistrum in artibus et baccalarium in legibus, cui meritorum suorum intuitu ad vestre reverende dominacionis collacionem providit apostolica benignitas graciose*.

¹ MS. *libera*.

² MS. *arisu*.

³ MS. *sic*.

⁴ Corr. from *precium*.

⁵ *sic*.

⁶ *sic*: the sentence is corrupt.

⁷ MS. *prostratus*.

⁸ Cf. Ducange s.v. *continencia*, 6, status, dispositio.

⁹ Probably *non* should come before *debellancium*.

¹⁰ *meritum expunged*.

¹¹ *versucias*, MS.

¹² *sic*: for *uranis*, 'in Heaven'? Cf. no. 61, *uranicus*.

22. RESPONSIO.—*Carissimi*: The Bishop will fulfil their wishes as far as possible.

[fo. 39v.] 23. DE EPISCOPO AD EPISCOPUM.—Reverende in Christo pater et domine, Cum sit iure provido statutum, quod iudices et iurisdiccioni presidentes in iuris subsidium se mutuo iuvare teneantur, vestram paternitatem sub mutue vicitudinis obtentu attentius rogamus, quatinus I. C. et R. T. executores testamenti I. K. diocesani¹ nostri nuper defuncti et bonorum administratores, infra vestram iurisdiccione[m] notorie conversantes, ita quod citacione personali in nostra diocesi non possunt aliquo[qu]aliter apprehendi, peremptorie citari eos facere velitis, quod compareant coram nobis nostrove commissario in ecclesia de W. die veneris proximo post festum tale, si iuridicus fuerit, alioquin proximo die iuridico extunc sequente, inquisicionem de et super defectibus in cancello dicte ecclesie, ac libris et ornamentis eiusdem, quam manso, domibus, muris, edificiis et clausuris rectorie prefate ecclesie visuri et audituri, ulteriusque facturi et recepturi secundum negotii qualitem quod iusticia racionabiliter persuadebit. Et quid feceritis in premissis nos aut nostrum commissarium vestre placeat paternitati reddere cerciores.²

24. RESPONSIO.—Reverende pater; mutua requirunt negocia vestris petitionibus respondere; et eapropter dictos executores per nostrum commissarium tali die fecimus peremptorie citari, ad comparandum die in litteris vestris et loco contentis, quamquam instancia non modica hoc fecimus adimpleri; attendentes, pater reverende, quod citacionis huiusmodi pretextu dominus meus serenissimus princeps, ut asseritur, in iracundiam non modicam provocatur. Paternitatem vestram allevet in prosperis pastor celicus Deus ipso.

[23-24. The only bishop who will fit the initials J. K. is Cardinal Kemp, Archbishop of Canterbury, who died in 1454: in that case W. might stand for the Church of Wye, in Kent, which was appropriated to the College which had been founded there during his lifetime. But the date seems very late for this MS., and the initials may be fictitious. Note that the king, or a prince, is concerned in the matter.]

25. VENERABILIBUS ET EXIMIE DISCRETIONIS VIRIS COMMISSARIO³ NOSTRO AC SINGULIS REGENTIBUS UNIVERSITATIS OXONIE AMICIS NOSTRIS PRECARISSIMIS.—Reverendi magistri et

¹ Corr. from *diocesaniis*.

² Corr. from *cersiores*.

³ MS. *commissis*: probably a misreading of *commiss*'.

amici carissimi : post preclaros scienciarum pugiles, [to. 40.] quos velut vitis fructifera venerabilis mater nostra universitas Oxonie a primevis sue institutionis cunabilis educare non destitit, I. licenciati in legibus, ipsius matris nostre filii et alumni, laudabilia probitatis merita, que et ipsa mater nostra per insignes ipsius I. labores multiplices ac in actibus scolasticis opera commendanda¹ sufficientibus est actenus experta indicii; necnon reverendi in Christo patris et domini, domini Thome Dei gracia Cantuariensis archiepiscopi, qui ipsam universitatem, ut oculata fide perpendimus, zelo paterne affectionis et sperate promotionis prosequitur incrementis, prescriptorum² negociorum dicti I. instancia repetita affectionis nostre animum, ex debito quasi iusticie, pulsant et exposcunt, ut honestis ipsius I. desideriis favorabiliter annuamus; Verumquia³ eiusdem I. desideratus affectus vestris ad presens continetur manibus, vestram reverenciam exoramus attente, quatinus dicti I. supplicationem presentibus interclusam habere dignemini, prefati reverendi patris intuitu ac nostrarum precum speciali interventu, singulariter recommissam: ipsamque iuxta ipsius supplicantis votum, occasione cuiuslibet obstaculi pretensi penitus cancellata, dignetur vestra reverencia concedere, ut petitur, graciose; Scituri quod occasionante vestre reverencie affectuali expedicione in premissis, dicti reverendi patris penes ipsam universitatem iniciatus favor cum multiplici fructu non post prolixa temporum intersticia, ut verisimiliter speratur, cum fructu centesimo prosperabitur ad augmentum; nosque eo pretexto ipsius universitatis filium non degenerem, sed eiusdem universitatis promotorem et procuratorem invigilem, teste consciencia, perpetuis temporibus habitur': Valeat vestra reverencia in honorum auspiciis feliciter in Filio virginis gloriose.

26. RESPONSIO.—Reverende pater et domine, naturalis ordo exigit et deposcit, quod paternos affectus filius supleret uterinus. Hac utique de causa nostri consocii I. C. votum, ex quo tam avide nobis scripsistis, suplevimus, ut peciebatur, prout idem I. vestre paternitati poterit lucidius reserare, quam ad gloriam sui nominis diu attollat in prosperis paternitas increata.

[25-26. The Archbishop is probably Thomas Arundel, 1396-1414, and the favour granted, perhaps a Grace for a degree.]

27. DE MONACHIS STUDENTIBUS AD ABBATEM QUENDAM.—Venerabili in Christo patri ac domino domino Dei gracia etc'

¹ MS. *commenda*.

² MS. *proscriptorum*.

³ MS. *verumq*.

suoque conventui reverendo, magister I. C. sacrorum canonum¹ professor prior Oxon' studencium monachorum et cetus unanimis eorundem, reverencias omnimodas et honores cum debita promptitudine complacendi. Veritatis imperium subticere nequimus [fo. 40v] [qu ?]aliter incorrupta vestre culture fertilitas felici cespite propagata monastici culminis ortum florigerum virtutum varietate conclusit, salutarisque sciencie ramis fructiferis actenus insignivit : inter quos I. T. vestre paternitatis filius predilectus sic celestis agricole gracia fecundante coaluit, et in sapiencie labore quievit, quod salutiferum suo tempore fructum ferventisque studii maturitatem digessit. Ea propter ad vestre consideracionis intuitum concurrimus deprecantes, quatinus prefato vestre dileccionis filio, quem scienciarum Dominus tam nature quam gracie muneribus illustravit, solitudinis thesaurum committere dignemini dispensand' quo servi fidelis² industria debitis honoribus premiatur, ac sic³ sui cursus certamine consummato bacallariatus insignia consequatur, sub cuius vexillo triumphans suis humeribus pocioris autoritatis robur adiiciat, per quod nedum vestris, quin etiam universalis ordinis et ecclesie negociis sciat consulere providius, saniorique consilio providere. Ad cuius effectum, cum cuncta rationis⁴ motiva vix scripture mortua⁵ sufficit aperire, magnifice discrecionis virum W. P. monachum monasterii de S. nostre congregacionis socium et in iure canonico graduatum, sub vitali preconio vestris reverenciis rogavimus inculcare quidquid de contingentibus calamus pretermittit. Cuius nostrisque precibus inclinati condescendere dignetur vestra paternitas graciosa, quam conservare dignetur in prosperis incomprehensibilis⁶ sapiencia Dei Patris.

28. RESPONSIO.—Reverendi domini et amici prestantissimi, cuncta rationis motiva nobis prebet materiam gratulandi, de eo quod summa Altissimi clemencia sic cum nostro filio sciencie margaritam feliciter dispensavit, ut ad cathedralem in studio valeat⁷ provehi dignitatem. Set reverendi, sublima incipere non est incepta pueriliter diffinire, que propter regias taxationes ac alia onera nobis et nostre domui spectancia per presentis⁸ anni circumvolucionem absque notabili

¹ Corrected from *canorum*.

² Corrected from *fideles*.

³ MS. *si*.

⁴ *motiva* expunged.

⁵ A word seems needed, such as *littera*, to go with *mortua* : the contrast is between the 'dead —' and the 'living voice.'

⁶ *Dei* expunged.

⁷ MS. *valet*.

⁸ Corr. from *presentes*.

detrimento nequimus¹ perfirine. Unde nos tenere dignemini usque ad aliam arripientis revolucionem penitus excusatos, quo quidem tempore tam pro propriis comodo et honore taliter disponemus, ut sui laboris industria premiabitur² sudorosa cum copiosa fertilitate sumptuum et expensarum. Venerandum vestre congregacionis cetum in solio virtutum collocet celica benignitas, Deus ipse.

[27-28. From the prior of students, the head of the Benedictine Gloucester College, Oxford, to the abbot of one of the monk-students, who is ready to take the degree of Bachelor (of Theology or Canon Law). W. P., monk of S., may well be William Pygot, monk of Selby, who was a student at Oxford in 1397-8 (*Yorks. Archeol. Journal*, 59 (1900), 414) and became abbot of Selby in 1411.]

29. LITERA AD QUENDAM DOMINUM.—Reverendissime pater et domine ac sacrosancte ecclesie defensor intremide, vestre dominacionis affectuosissimam benignitatem intimius revolventes cotidi- [fo. 41] anis perdiscimus experimentis, qualiter iam longis desolatam temporibus, et multis iniuriarum attenuatam moribus, universitatem vestram, matrem nostram, sincere pietatis compassionibus et zelantissime caritatis operibus indesinenter respicitis in tantum, ut eo ferventius ad eius proteccionem vestra magnanimitas moveatur, quo et eam exterius incursionibus turbari et interius descencionibus intelligitis pregravari. Super quo altissimo nostro³ et vestre paternitatis excellencie graciaram vota referimus, et ad ipsum pietatis fontem quem libavimus ardencius duximus recurrendum. Sane prestantissime pater et domine, licet iam multo quod dolendum est tempore non mediocriter conturbata et commota fuerat universitas vestra, ratione cuiusdam eleccionis intrinsece minus discrete terminate, volens tamen Dominus malis finem imponere, et subactam veritatem luculenter patefacere,⁴ malum simplex in bonum multiplex commutavit, universitatem pene acephalam, si vestrum non desit auxilium, fecundiori ut speramus capite perornando. Siquidem, graciosissime domine, nuper in quadam magna congregacione regencium et non regencium solemniter celebrata, aspirante Domino, sedatis nonnullis perniciosis dissencionum materiis, unanimi concensu et cordialissimo non regencium et omnium facultatum decreto, ad cancellariatus officium vocandum censuimus venerabilem virum magistrum R. H., Cantuar[iensis] ecclesie archidiaconum, et decretorum doctorem, ad Dei honorem, universitatis salutem, et tocius

¹ ne- interlin.

² sic.

³ Sic.

⁴ MS. *patescere*.

Anglie profectum generalem. Et hinc est quod reverendissime paternitati vestre devotissime supplicamus, quatinus attentis universitatis vestre langoribus et quasi necessitatibus ultimitatis, predictum venerabilem virum ad acceptacionem predicti cancellariatus officii inducere dignemini cum effectu. Et quia vestre celcitudinis novit prudentia, et nos detrimentis nostris edocti sumus, quod absentia pastoris lupis prebet audaciam, et elongacio capitis membris morbum ingerit non medelam; humillime flagitamus, quatinus de vestre munifice excellencie dignacione, sua gaudere possumus presencia corporali, saltem usque ad reformationis et quietacionis tempora, ne fortasse sua destituti presencia, gravioribus ut timemus periculis obviamur. Insuper precellenti dominacioni vestre transmittimus venerabiles de gremio universitatis nostre viros I. C. et T. B., qui vestram paternitatem de supradictis et circumstanciis et aliis universitatem concernentibus, tanquam speciales nuncii deputati lucidius informabunt. Super quibus omnibus ipsis adhibere dignemini indubie fidei firmitatem. Summus pontificum et sacerdos in eternum Christus Ihesus dignetur vestram reverendam paternitatem ad socius regni regimen et prosperum Anglicane ecclesie munimen, cui presidetis, diucius temporibus feliciter conservare.

[fo. 41^v.] 30. RESPONSIO.—Reverendi magistri et amici specialissimi, non modicis miraculis nostri cordis intrinseca opilantur, pro eo quod porrecta literarumstrarum peticio huiusmodi continebat, que in tocius status nostri quam plurimum et notorium redundare poterunt detrimentum, et precipue ex quo tota nostri hospicii gubernancia per sui providas discreciones disponitur et ordinatur. Attamen, magistri reverendi, nolentes alme matris nostre prolixam desolacionem propter pericula¹ eminencia, que per emulorum suggestiones perversas possent leviter suboriri, eundem vestrum et nostrum pariter cancellarium vestro cetui reverendo destinamus, vos affligitantes humiliter et devote, quod siquid fuerit unde vobis et vestris privilegiis poterimus complacere, nos inde vellitis reddere cersiores, et illud tota mentis possibilitate curabimus adimplere, gracia summi Dei, qui cetum vestrum prosperum custodiat ad sui gloriam diu et feliciter duraturum.

[29-30. Evidently from the University of Oxford to the Archbishop of Canterbury, Thomas Arundel. R. H., Archdeacon of Canterbury, can be none other than Robert Hallam, born c. 1360-70,

¹ Corrected from *periculum*.

Archdeacon of Canterbury in 1400, Chancellor of Oxford 1403-6, Bishop of Salisbury 1407, Cardinal 1411, died in 1417 at the Council of Constance, in which he took a leading part. The previous chancellor, Philip Repingdon, was still in office Feb. 14, 1403, while Hallam first occurs as Chancellor Nov. 29, 1403 (*Snappe's Formulary* (Oxford Historical Society 1923), 332): so these letters must be between those dates. Note the disturbed state of University before the election; and the curious fact that the Archdeacon was in charge of the Archbishop's household.]

31. LITERA REGI.—Serenissime princeps, inter cetera onera vestros humeros premencia¹ id prudenter debet advertere mens regalis, quam labilis et mutabilis sit fortuna, que vos gloriosissime collocavit in apice sue rote, que si in girum inopinatis casibus divertatur, descidet corona capitis vestri, et fatiscens deficiet virtus vestra. Certe non estis, metuendissime princeps, Absolone pulcrior, Salomone prudencior, Alexandro potencior, Iulio Cesare ferocior, nec Iuda forcior Machabeo: quos etsi fortuna ad tempus nobiliter sublimavit, incaute seducti spe fortune, que dum prospera permittit, prodit incautum, et ut draco sibilans clandestine maliciam machinatur, per infelices casus miserabiliter perierunt. Quamobrem exeat edictum a regali prudentia, et convocatis prudentibus regni vestri, qui omni tergiversacionis, excusacionis, aut porrogacionis² impedimento sublato, sub formidabilibus penis ad vos accedere non defferant:³ ex dictorum digesto consilio celsitudo regia pertractet consulcius et practicet prudencius, quoquomodo precautis infaustis casibus tam labilis fortune firmiter stabit regnum: continet certe regnum in hoc casu prudentissimos coniectores, casum a fortuna lucidissime distinguentes, grammaticos et logicos, rethores et philosophos, astronomos et phisicos, arsmetricos, musicos et prudentes theologos, in causis altissimis limpidissime speculantes, quibus felix fortuna divisit prout voluit dona sua, ut fortune claritas ab infelici causa tutissime defendatur: quos omnes serenissime princeps terreat metus vester, ut iuramenti vinculo, quo iamdudum [fo. 42.] regie maiestati se obnixius obstruxerunt, nudam et puram verita[tem] sophisticis ambagibus non permixtam, adulacionis oleo non conspersam, vestris obtutibus pro quo vos regnare contigerit in scedulis papiriis sub eorum signaculis, nulla prorogacionis expectata morula, fideliter manifestent, quiditatem diffiniant, et determinative concludant, quid sit fortuna, que illius sint iura, quomodo casu natura differat vel a fato, quomodo

24 ¹ MS. *preeminencia*.

² Sic.

³ Corr. from *defferant*.

potentissimus rex fortune in eventu¹ tuebitur regnum suum a cunctis mundi potentibus, nobilibus et archinis eciam miserimis concupitum.

[It does not seem likely that this fanciful proposal for a Royal Commission to inquire into the nature of Fortune was anything but a literary exercise.]

32. A long, fulsome letter of praise and thanks for past benefits, from a student to a patron : the letter ends as follows :—

[fo. 42v.] Et quamquam in sanitate corporea extrinsecus perseverem, pro interiori tamen egritudine spiritus non quiescit. Considerans enim huiusmodi metricum : *Damna fleo rerum*, etc.,² lamentor voce querula et educcione singultuum lacrimosa suspiro, eo quod impeditus quadam necessitate pro anno presenti ab omni studio efficaci abstinere compellor. Est enim domus nostra de Valle Sārū³ quoddam statutum iuramento vallatum,⁴ quod si aliquis sociorum eligatur in senescallum, sine quavis contradiccione electum⁵ huiusmodi per unum annum integrum stabitur se invito. Qua quidem eleccione facta iuxta formam statuti predicti, super me, quod doleo, cecidit sors sinistra, quia⁶ ubi scolas affectans pre ceteris me partem optimam eligi⁷ cum Maria, quidam socii mei de Valle et, si auderem dicere, spiritus maligni pervertentes⁸ ordinem iuris evangelii, cum Martha sollicita me participem fecerunt : super quo [fo. 43] multum maius timeo, quod filium inconstancie me nuncupant ob [hoc] : dicunt enim forsitan : ‘ Nunquid hic sit ille, qui dudum scolas [. . .] tens, temere transmeavit, et tandem reversus ad partes cismarinas [. . .] vice secunda iterum se absentat.’ Que omnia et singula, si a veritatis tramite non delirem, non potero diffiteri. Constanter tamen assero, imo si opus fuerit affirmans iuramento, quod nunquam mero motu hec feceram, sed coactus. Quocirca, domine reverende, me vestrum habere dignemini excusatum, absenciam huiusmodi mee inconstancie⁹ nullatenus imputantes. Ad presens nescio vobis dicere¹⁰ alia scribi digna, sed reddo me primum pariter et paratum ad omnia que sunt vestre gratuita voluntati ; quam suo velle sanctissimo in omnibus conformem una cum felicitate longaeva conservet Unigenitus virginis gloriose.

¹ This word is very obscure in the MS.

² Cf. the proverb on fo. 6v, line 16-17.

³ Perhaps for *Valle Scholarium* : see note.

⁴ For *eleccioni* ?

⁵ Interlin.

⁶ MS. *pervertens*.

⁷ In- interlin.

⁸ Sic.

⁹ MS. sic.

¹⁰ Corr. from *discere*.

33. RESPONSIO.—Constantissime amice. Quamquam ex iuris naturalis debito pariter et divini quilibet tenetur languidum visitare, siquod remedium sibi afferre valeat seu consolamen : Sed vos qui minima ignoratis oblivisci, beneficiis summis veraciter immerito assimilatis, tam oculata fide quam oraculo et scriptura, ea cotidianis temporibus non destitis referre, evangelicam sententiam totaliter transversando : ubi ceco¹ a Dei Filio asserebatur ; ‘ Nemini dicas ’ ; et mox unicuique visum suum discurrendo revelabat, inquiring se fore sanum prophetiam per medelam. Unde vobis supplico visceroze, quatinus huiusmodi laudes temporales et preconia siquidem indigna, vite celesti minime valetura, a cedula papiis et oraculis velitis omnimode remove, donec cuiuslibet Retributor magnificus ea uberime rependere voluerit in sue solio maiestatis. Et asserenciam² vestram annualem a studiis laboriosis restauret Unigenitus virginis illibate.

[If the suggested emendation is correct, the student must have been a member of the college of *Vallis scholarium* or Val-des-Ecoliers, in the University of Paris, a house of studies belonging to the Order of Val-des-Ecoliers, a branch of the Canons Regular, founded at the beginning of the thirteenth century (see Martène & Durand, *Voyage littéraire*, Paris, 1717, part I., p. 313 f.). Some early rules for the college are printed in *Chartul. Univ. Paris.*, I., 123-4, but they do not throw any light on this letter. The student, from the general tone of the letter to his patron, appears to be a *secular* member of the college : his information concerning the election of the seneschal or steward is most interesting. The reference to *partes cismarinas* seems to support a connexion with Paris.

34. Reverende pater et domine. Quia plerumque et potissime in gestis presentibus transcurrencium loquacitas veritatem quibusdam fabulis et rumoribus adulterinis obnubilat : idcirco pater reverende, vestre reverende dominacioni quo, qualia, et quanta Altissimus pro sue plebis consolacione in F.³ et eius confinibus modernis temporibus operari dignatus est, presentibus litteris proponimus declarare. Et quia Dominus plebem suam in subscriptis magnificaverit, vos pater reverende et omnes ceteri [fo. 43^v] [quo]s fervor idem et propositum nostre intencionis animat, spiritum leticie as[sum]entes, graciaram acciones Altissimo persolvatis. In vigilia siquidem beatissime Trinitatis nobis cum quibusdam de nostris⁴ capitaniis et aliis stipendiariis in portu de S.⁵ exeuntibus captatis temporibus et horis oportunis, portum cum

¹ MS. *cece*.

² *Sic* : for *absenciam* ?

³ Probably *Flandria*.

⁴ *de nostris*] interlin.

⁵ Perhaps *Sandwich*.

nostra classe reliquimus, ventis flantibus secundis maria sulcantes, ubi parumper expectantes, in festo sanctissime Trinitatis remige felici Calisie portum ingressi, villam eandem *cum* nostris capitaniis et ceteris intravimus, *ubi per dies Lune et Martis usque ad horam nonam pro nostra recreacione moram prestolabamur*: Quo die cum nostro exercitu usque villam de G.¹ equitantes, coram muris eiusdem ville nostra fiximus tentoria, *nostras acies disponentes*, nostrosque nuncios et armorum executores eiusdem que ville capitaneum et burgenses confestim transmisimus, interrogantes eosdem an villam de G. memoratam domino nostro regi Anglie et Francie illustri et nobis reddere voluerunt, sub condicione ut vitas, membra, bona et catalla eorum pacifice absque quavis molestacione possiderent, et ex diverso eis et eorum bonis ultimo exterminio,² preda et arepcione deducendis. Ipsi vero superbi et elati spiritu retorno responderunt se nolle quovis pacto villam reddere, nostram potenciam et exercitum in omnibus vilipendentes, sicque ista responsione nobis et nostro consilio cerciorata, tota nocte ibidem requievimus, factoque mane, pro scalis et ceteris machinis ad insultum nobis maxime fuit curiosa.³ Quo die videlicet Mercurii circiter horam terciam gens ville de B.⁴ perpendentes in nos et nostros manus ultionis violenter et in eis extendere, qui domini nostri regis legalitati et nostre dicioni subiecti fere⁵ voluere, villam de B. memoratam in nostras manus reddiderunt, receptisque ab eis fidelitate, eiusdemque ville castro per dominum W.⁶ militem tractatu capto nobis reddito, dictoque domino W. per nos eiusdem castri capitaneo,⁷ circiter quartam horam post nonam eiusdem diei nos disposuimus ad insultum, nostrisque militibus armigeris et ceteris viriliter dimicantibus quasi per quattuor horas, tandem superna favente clemencia prevaluit potestas nostra absque magna nostrorum cede vel lesione, et quasi crepusculo villam per scalas et ceteras machinas ingressi, facta strage non modica inimicorum, cunctos impetus gladii devorabat, nisi quos sexus muliebris aut etas tenerior⁸ ab ore mucronis liberabat. In qua quidem villa pro nostra et exercitus nostri recreacione per dies Iovis, Veneris et sabbati [fo. 44] et aliquantulum diei dominice requiescentes, parum post eiusdem

¹ *Gravelines.*

² *Corr. from ex termino.*

³ *Sic: for cura?*

⁴ *Perhaps Bourbourg.*

⁵ *For fore?* The passage seems corrupt,

⁶ *Perhaps Sir W. de Faringdon: cf. Walsingham, 85.*

⁷ *facto* seems to be needed.

⁸ *teneris* expunged.

diei [horam] nonam versus villam de D.¹ nostras acies disposuimus, facto [que crepus]culo, quidam de nostris villam intrarunt, nobis in quodam citra [. . .]² dicto M. residentibus, summoque mane plenarie apparati vill[am] intravimus, ibidem nos et nostros cum victualibus, quorum non arescit copia, recreantes : dumque armis fuerimus exuti recubantes in meredie, subito quasi circiter horam terciam post nonam diei Lune venerunt gens innumerosa Flandr[ensium] et Francorum in armatis cuneis optime dispositi, vexillis et lanceis undique stipati, vix per milliare a villa distantes, quorum numerus ad xxviii³⁰ milia ad minus extendebat, prout per quosdam de eis captos plenius fuimus eruditi, factoque nostro exercitu,³ ingenti buccinarum et tubarum sonitu, strepitu et clamore cucurrimus ad arma, villam catervatim exivimus, bellum viriliter aggressi, ubi coniunctis aciebus, fit frago lancearum, dirumpuntur cassides, solvuntur laquei, et totus campus sonuit a fremitu occisorum, fugientesque adversarios armati equites insequuntur, traduntur neci ad numerum decem milium ad minus per totam patriam in fossibus, segetibus et planiciebus dispersi. Quo finito, ad vexillum cunctis reparentibus, Te Deum laudamus humiliter genuflexi decantavimus, Altissimo pro victoria nobis celitus concessa gratias exsolventes, himnoque finito accidit mirabile, quod vobis potest referre presencium lator, adhibentes eciam ei fidem in ceteris que vestre⁴ paternitati ex parte nostra retulerit⁵ viva⁶ voce.

[34. This letter may be taken as a test case for the genuine character of some at least of the letters in the collection, and it deserves to be considered at some length. (i) It is certainly a description of the first part of the crusade of Henry Despensers, Bishop of Norwich, in Flanders, in May, 1383, including the taking of Gravelines and the battle near Dunkirk : this is evident from a comparison with the accounts of the chroniclers : Walsingham, *Historia Anglicana* (Rolls Series, 28, ed. Riley), II., 88 f. ; A continuator of Higden, *Polychronicon* (Rolls Series, 41, ed. J. R. Lumby), IX., 18 ; *Historia vitæ et regni Ricardi II. . . . a monacho quodam de Evesham consignata* (ed. Hearne, Oxford, 1729), 44 f. ; Knighton, *Chronicle* (Rolls Series, 92, ed. Lumby), II., 199 ; Froissart, *Chroniques* (ed. G. Raynaud, Société de l'histoire de France, 1899), XI., p. xxiii. f., 88 f. ; and five short accounts printed in *Istore et Croniques de Flandres* (ed. Kervyn de Lettenhove, Brussels, 1880), II., 282 f. Cf. Sir J. H. Ramsay, *The Genesis of Lancaster*, II., 202-4 ; G. M. Wrong, *The Crusade of 1383*, 54 f.

¹ Dunkirk.

² A citadel?

³ Sic.

⁴ fraternitati expunged.

⁵ corr. from retulerat.

⁶ MS. vice.

(ii) Further, it will be found that part of the Rylands letter corresponds practically word for word with the account in the Higden-continuator. The parts of the letter printed in *italics* are those which correspond to Higden.

(i) (a) *Rylands*: on vigil of Trinity [16 May] the writer and his detachment, taking a favourable time, sail from S. [probably Sandwich, cf. *Wals.*], arr. Calais on Trinity Sunday [17 May], wait Monday, Tuesday. *Walsingham*: about Trinity, in mid-May, Despenser sets out through Kent, waits for good wind at Northbourne [nr. Sandwich], sails to Calais, waits 'a few days' for more troops to arrive. *Higden*: on Trinity arr. Calais, wait Monday, Tuesday. *Vita R. II.*: to Calais on S. Peter and Paul [29 June; an obvious error, for the same account gives the battle of Dunkirk as 25 May]. *Froissart*: arr. Calais on 23 April, wait until 4 May. *Istore et Croniques* (p. 291): the Bishop of Norwich arr. Calais on 17 May, with about 120 ships.

(b) *Rylands*: Tuesday [19 May] at 9 o'clock they set out for G. [Gravelines], which is besieged, Wednesday [20 May], preparations in morning, assault 4 p.m., taken after 4 hours fighting, slaughter of men, women and children spared: the English rest there till Sunday [24 May]. *Wals.*: siege of Gravelines [no date], taken after fighting through the night, from mid-day to mid-day: pillage and slaughter: some days rest. *Higden*: Gravelines taken on Wed. [20 May], also Dunkirk, Newport, Bourbourg, Poperinge 'Lombard' and adjacent forts reduced. *Vita R. II.*: Gravelines taken [no date]: slaughter of men, women spared: move to Dunkirk about Sunday. *Froissart*: Gravelines taken after resistance: slaughter. *Ist. et Cron.* (p. 282, 284, 292, 306). After an unsuccessful raid, by sea, on Dunkirk, repulsed with losses [not mentioned by Froissart and English Chron.], the English, next day, attack Gravelines and take it: slaughter: rest for two days.

(c) *Rylands*: enter Dunkirk on Sunday and rest: Monday [25 May] about 3 p.m. surprised by a host of c. 28,000 French and Flemings, battle and English victory; chase, and 10,000 slain; Miracle. *Wals.*: enter Dunkirk [no date]; while the Bishop is supping, alarm of approach of c. 30,000 French and Flemings; battle on 25 May, St. Urban's day, miraculous storm and chase; 12,000 of enemy slain, only 7 of English. *Higden*: surprise and battle, 25 May [as in *Rylands*]. *Vita R. II.*: battle with 30,000 Flemings on Monday, vigil of St. Augustine of Canterbury [25 May]; 10,000 to 11,000 slain, only 15 English. *Froissart*: Flemish force of 12,000 in Dunkirk, at approach of English, come out and fight: 9,000 are killed, but *ils se vendirent mout bien*, killing 400 English [contrast with above]. *Ist. et Cron.*: Battle before Dunkirk, between Furnes and Berghes (p. 286), on May 25 or 15 (p. 286, 291, 292 f., 306 f.); English victory and chase; 5,000 to 6,000 slain.

It may be said that the Rylands letter agrees with the chroniclers at least as well as the latter agree among themselves. As might be expected, Froissart and the Flemish accounts give a rather different version, or emphasis, from that of the English Chroniclers. There are

several points in which the Rylands account is unique, giving information lacking elsewhere. It was a papal crusade, on behalf of Urban VI., theoretically against the adherents of Clement VII., and it marched under the standard of the cross-keys (Froissart): yet here we are told that the surrender of Gravelines was demanded in the name of the English King: this is perhaps explained by the conscious weakness in the Crusaders' case, namely, that the inhabitants of Flanders were themselves good Urbanists, though subjects of a Clementist ruler. The *Vita R. II.* (p. 45), however, makes the people of Gravelines deny Pope Urban. During the siege of Gravelines, we are told, the people of B. came and surrendered. All the accounts give lists of towns captured: this town was probably Bourbourg, though Froissart places its surrender after Dunkirk (p. 107).

Other accounts give more information about the general character of the crusade, its preaching and recruitment, the various parleys, but the Rylands letter ignores these bigger issues—Despenser himself is not mentioned,—while it gives the day and the hour of movements: all this reads like the diary of a rather unimportant eye-witness. The writer was probably one of the many ecclesiastics who took part in the expedition.

(ii) Certain parts of the Rylands letter (printed in *italics*), particularly the description of the battle of Dunkirk, correspond almost word for word with certain parts of the account of the "Higden" continuator. One of two conclusions necessarily follows. On the one hand, it may be that the Rylands letter is simply an artificial composition, plagiarized from Higden: but there are difficulties here. There is much more in Rylands than is given in Higden, and some of this additional matter, at least, finds support in the other accounts: the "faking" of the Rylands letter would, then, have involved considerable historical research. Further, why should a teacher of *dictamen*, in making a selection of model letters, go out of his way to *compose* a letter which violates all the orthodox rules, having neither salutation nor exordium nor petition nor conclusion nor subsalutation? In fact it has nothing but narration, and its only possible excuse could be its reality. Finally, whereas Higden (like Walsingham) details the miraculous storm, this is left to be explained by the bearer, in the Rylands letter. That the writer of the latter should have had the miracle, in Higden, in front of him, and should have deliberately cut it out, contenting himself with a hint, is surely a piece of artistic economy, of which a medieval writer was not capable. This hypothesis, then, seems much less probable than the other, namely, that the Higden continuator used a real contemporary letter, of which we have the copy in this Rylands MS. Such a process would be quite in accordance with the practice of chroniclers. The continuation of Higden, with which we are concerned, was attributed by its editor to John Malvern, monk and prior of Worcester: but Dr. Armitage Robinson has convincingly argued that the portion from 1381 to 1394 was the work of a monk of Westminster, possibly Thomas Merk (*ob.* 1410), who, as we have seen, was himself interested in letter-writing (above,

p. 329), but more probably John Lakyngheth (*ob.* 1396) (J. A. Robinson, *An unrecognized Westminster Chronicler, 1381-1394*, Proc. of British Academy, VIII.). Westminster was visited by the Bishop of Norwich, on 17 April, 1383, on his way to the Crusade (*ibid.*, pp. 8, 20); and one of the Westminster monks, B. Forde, was away that year *cum croiseria* (*ibid.*, 7; Pearce, *Monks of Westminster*, Cambridge, 1916, 116). A Westminster Chronicler would thus have some interest and connexion with the Crusade: possibly this letter was written by Dom Forde to the abbot of Westminster.]

35. Salutem cum desiderio revidendi. Litteris vestris primariis bene provis et undique circumspectis¹ prelato meo,² michi et toto³ conventui nimia recommendacione premissa porrectis, omnes et singuli vestre reverencie assurgimus ad acciones quibus sufficimus graciaram. Secundariis vero litteris michi specialiter⁴ directis visis et conceptis, quamplurimum commovebar, pro eo et ex eo, quod iuxta litterarumstrarum insinuacionem, a spiritu sanioris consilii et totalis circumspeccionis segregatus, quedam sinistra verba tramiti veritatis repugnantia in denigracionem vestri status ac opinionis⁵ nuper de prefatis litteris protulerim inconsulte. Testis est tamen michi Deus cognitor secretorum, quod de persona vestra, seu materia vel forma litterarumstrarum [fo. 44v] [nich]il inconveniencie sive suspicionis male conceperim, dixerim, mente [. . .] averim, aut quoquo modo exposuerim; imo omnia honesta votiva et conveniencia [. . .] reverendam in hac parte periciam ac prefatas litteras concernencia pro modico posse meo explicans et asserens, prout gestus vester et rei veritas se habebant. Istud quoque viva voce recolo me dixisse, in presencia illius I. B. vobis ista ficta et enormia de persona mea suggerentis; habita quoque altercacione aliquialiter sociali inter quosdam iuvenes super contemptu et intellectu litterarumstrarum, unde ita inquires; cum ad aliquam personam dirigitur epistola, verbis cotidianis et expressis erit insistendum, ne verborum difficultas non intellecto proposito videatur adversari: ex quibus verbis ignorancia legitime non presumitur, immo sciencia vestra laudabilis comprobatur. Ergo rem que culpa caret, in damnum vocari non convenit. Preterea domine et amice, unum est quod acriter me mordet, quod vos, qui estis tante auctoritatis, assercionis et certitudinis, et sacrarum legum professor, huiusmodi personis levibus, mendacibus, et detractoribus, vobis vana,

¹ Corr. from *-tus*.

² Interlin.

³ *conside* . . . struck through.

⁴ *Dilectus* expunged.

⁵ Corr. from *opiniurum*.

falsa et inutilia calide suggerentibus, non rimato hinc inde processu, fidem credulam adhibere voluistis, in meum tedium et gravamen. Revera, carissime, isti non sunt ydonei clerici, non lectores, sed lictores, non alicuius bone sciencie speculatores, sed fallaces et mendaces, non studiosi sed tediosi, degeneres eciam et ingrati, quia nedum ad titulum domus nostre in sacerdocium promoti, verumeciam in perpetuam et congruam sustentacionem exhibendam sunt sustentandi, dummodo ad tantum infortunium et inopiam quod absit devenierint, precibus meis intervenientibus atque industriis, quamquam non dicam adulando. Valet in Domino, valeantque vestri amici et doleant inimici. Salutant vos omnes et singuli.

[35. From a member of a religious house to a doctor of Canon Law. It is possible that the latter was the prior of students at Oxford, the writer of no. 27, who held that degree, and that the writer of this letter was a monk-student who had been recalled: hence the *desiderium revidendi*. Note the discussion on letter-writing, in which the praise of a simple style could be construed as an insult. The tale-bearers were apparently secular priests, ordained to the title of the monastery, with a special right to support if in need. Their position is obscure. Chantries in monastic churches were sometimes served by secular priests. Durham Cathedral priory, when engaging secular singing masters, promised a pension to them if disabled (*Hist. Dunelm. Scriptores Tres* (Surtees Soc. 1839), pp. cccxv., cccclxxxvi., cccxcviii).]

[fo. 44v.] 36. From a student, to a friend, telling of his distress, and asking for help.

[fo. 45] 37. Reverende domine et amice precordialissime, rationis ordo nos promovet et inducit ibidem in arduis negociis presidium querere, ubi actenus in nostris indigencie articulis iuvenimus subsidium multiforme. Cum igitur olim ex adversariorum importunitate necessitas nos compulerit prelatorum subsidia postulare, unde cum grciarum accione recordamur misericordiam vestram nobis fore¹ pre ceteris adiutricem, verum non tantummodo ex illo sed ex aliis beneficiis abbati nostro variis temporibus collocatis² pleniori fiducia confortati, dominationem vestram unanimiter supplicamus, quatinus in presenti necessitate, que in enervacionem tocius status nostri tendere dinoscitur, velitis remedium congruum providere. Dominacionem vestram sospitem³ custodiat Trinitas increata.

¹ Sic: *for fuisse?*

² Sic: *collatis* would be better.

³ MS. *sospem*.

38. RESPONSIO.—Reverendi domini et amici, literis vestris prout condecet receptis, illarumque tenore penitus intellecto, ut negociis vestris iam urgentibus suffragium deberem impendere oportum; reverenciis vestris significo presencium cum tenore, quod erga adversarium vestrum tam vigilem adhibui mediacionem, quod ad diem condescendere velit amoris : ¹ Quo quidem tempore pro mutua disponemus parte, quod litis et discordie motio quevis sub sopito silentio pertransibit, et nexus pristine amicitie restaurabitur indilate. In Altissimo diu et feliciter valeatis.

[fo. 45] 39. To a friend, asking after his condition.

[fo. 45v] 40. RESPONSIO : He is in good health, and asks for a meeting.

41. To a friend, during a pestilence, asking after his condition.

42. RESPONSIO : He has survived like the tares, when the wheat has been gathered : he proposes a meeting.

43. To an old acquaintance, asking to renew friendship.

[fo. 46.] 44. RESPONSIO : Declarations of friendship.

45. Amice predilecte ; de vestro bono statu rumores audire mellifluos continue permaneo sitibundus, de quo quidem statu propter esita cordis gaudere non possum. Vestram igitur deprecor amicitiam puro corde, quatinus ad huiusmodi esitacionis causam ammovendam memoria postposita volueritis reddere cerciores, cum beneplacito vestre voluntatis. Valete in illo qui pro amicis in ara crucis mortem sustinuit et tormentum.

46. RESPONSIO.—Amice precordialis ; ad vestram esitacionem penitus removendam vobis delucido per presentes, quod ad earundem confeccionem in hospicio serenissime ² domine regine prostiteram sui in officio clerici senescalli, quo a iuventute ³ divinitatis clemencia ad meum ⁴ superius spero scandere infra breve, et ad talem pertingere anelo gradum, per quem amicos et consanguineos ⁵ adjuvare necnon et promovere honorifice convalebo. Vestram amicitiam cum virtutum multiplici incremento Altissimus refocillet ad nostrum mutuum consolamen.

[45-46. Cf. No. 13.]

¹ MS. *amorem*. An amicable settlement, *dies amoris*, is evidently indicated.

² *Hosp. seren.* corrected from reverse order.

³ Perhaps for *adiuvante* ?

⁴ Sic.

⁵ MS. *consanguines*.

47. To a friend : the bearer needs advice on certain business : ending : *Ille vos custodiat qui in ramis [read in uranis ?] residet cuncta regens.*

48. RESPONSIO : Has given the advice required.

[fo. 46v.] 50. To a friend, on behalf of the bearer, unjustly accused *penes dominum nostrum* : asks him to make inquiry, and to reconcile the bearer and his enemies.

51. RESPONSIO : He has put the calumniators to confusion, and *queque temere acta dimisimus, sententiam dominicam imitantes.*

[fo. 47.] 51. Carissime : Tociens vobis scripsi, vos diversimode onerando¹ quod [.] esset affeccio quam penes vos reporto et diu prout noscitis reportavi ru[.] ad aliquid petendum de vobis scribere veraciter me turbaret, approbata tamen [.] quam nunquam repperi vacillantem, plenarie² confortans, vobis presentem [.] deprecans toto corde, quatinus in exonerationem oneris mei et officii circa fa[cien]dum ibidem oculum vigilem volueritis accomodare, michi remandantes, quid in hoc negotio fuerit sanius peragendum. Amice predilecte, vobis concedat Altissimus dies prosperos et longevos.

52. RESPONSIO.—Amice carissime ; in nullis vestris negociis expediendis per amici industriam vos verecundia minime perturbaret. Et quantum ad petitionem vestram, quod vobis consulerem super articulis vestrum officium spectantibus, sanius presertim reputo consilium, quod a senioribus dicti dominii que iura, consuetudines, et privilegia antiquitus ibi fuerant attente investigetis, an rationabilia essent seu delirata et inconsona vigilancius intuendo, et secundum quod vestra decreverit consciencia, antedictum officium sagaciter disponatis. In summo consiliario diu et feliciter valeatis.

53. Amice carissime, quia per litteras intermissas amicorum corda, potissime cum illos magna fuerit loci distancia, gratulantur ; quapropter presentem litteram vobis transmitto, certificans quod ad illius confeccionem bona gaudebam corporis sanitate : deprecans eciam cum effectu, quatinus de statu vestro per latorem presencium, et tociens quociens vobis affluerit copia nunciorum, me cum omnibus que facere potero vestris cedentibus commodo et honori, volueritis reddere cerciorem : quem quidem statum Altissimus conservare dignetur in-

¹ MS. *honorando*, with *h* expunged.

² MS. *plenare*.

columem et iocundum, michi gratiam tribuens aliqua peragere, que vobis in commodum et honorem poterunt redundare.

54. RESPONSIO.—Precarissime amice; recolens de vestra littera michi non diu amicabiliter transmissa, eius reserans cum tenore, quod non modicum exhilarat corda amicorum frequens visitacio litterarum, et saltem in tempore pestifero et tremescibili, quod vigorare dinoscitur his diebus. Eapropter presentem litteram vobis iam transmitto, reserans per eandem, quod de statu familiario et imbecilli ad rectorem talis ecclesie sum proventus: vobis enucians eiusdem littere cum tenore, quod tam crebre cum arripuerit copia nunciorum et sepius cum arbitrio voluntario revisitabo. Amiciciam vestram sospitem¹ nutriat clemencia Redemptoris.

[The reference to pestilence is no indication of date, owing to the frequency of such visitations.]

55. Confidentissime amice, quia noviter meis insonuit auribus, quod ecclesia de C., cuius valor annuus ad quadraginta marcas extendere dinoscitur, per mortem domini S. rectoris eiusdem vacare agnoscimus impresenti, et quendam habeo clericum, cuius incrementa non modicum iam affecto, nondum aliquod beneficium ecclesiasticum assecutum; vestram igitur amiciciam deprecor puro corde, quatinus eundem ad dictam mearum precum [fo. 47^v] [.] volueritis presentate: attendentes quod si feceritis ad omnia peragenda que [.]ere poterunt, me primum habebitis in casu consimili vel maiori. Ami[.]e in prosperitate longa poteritis ducere dies vestros.

56. RESPONSIO.—Precordialissime amice, non modica cum angustia siquidem iam lamento, pro eo quod vestram petitionem, cuius tot et tanta beneficia possedi, ad presens nequaquam valeo adimplere nam revera per duas hirculas priusquam vestras recepi literas, cuidam² regis clerico annui regii³ precaminis per obtentum; unde vobis efflagito viscerose me habere penitus excusatum. Nam quamvis propria sit voluntas in effectibus plerumque operari, attamen regio debemus arbitrio legaliter obedire. Amiciciam vestram diu custodiat in prosperis summa caritas, ipse Deus.

57. Amice precarissime, nichil est imprudencius arrogancia rusticorum, qui nugam a stolido profertam auctoritatem veridicam esse

¹ MS. *sospem*.

² MS. *cui*.

³ MS. *regiis*.

putant. Vestra igitur prudencia moveri non debeat ad verba clamancium respondere : de quibus dicitur ; Nolite respondere stulto ne sibi similis¹ videaris. Volo igitur prodigalitati vestre frenum imponere, ne brevi tempore vestram substanciam dissipatis multis temporibus acquisitam : affirmant eciam quod proverbia antiquorum ;² Sicut pix tangentis manus coniquinat, sic unius mali consorcium bonos plurimos dehonestat. Itaque si sagaciter recolitis dum scholas et studia exercere volueritis, vos debetis honesto consorcio adherere : nam dicitur : Quem olla recens suscipit odorem sumptum diucius conservabit : amplius homines infamia dehonoratos tua quorum consortio inficeretur.³ Amice carissime, hic gaudium vobis tribuat, gloriam et honorem, qui pro salute humana vilipendium sustinuit et tormentum.

58. RESPONSIO.—Preconstantissime amice, sano amici consilio acquiescere⁴ deberet quilibet sapiens mero motu, et eulogia in vestris contenta litteris tam consona sunt rationi, quod ab eis nequo ultatenus resilire, quibus perveniet ipsum radicitus indagavi⁵ quod adverbium verum eciam et vaticinia a laicorum oraculis prosiliunt potius quam clericorum nugatoriis cantilenis. Sue glorie participem vos faciat, qui dicta sua eulogice suis discipulis enucleabat.

59. Reverendissime pater et domine, vestre paternali reverencie me vestrum filium perhumilem obnixius recomendo, vestram que benedictionem michi pre omnibus huius vite terrestribus adiutricem suppliciter implorando, et quod omnimoda perfruamini corporis sanitate. Et reverendissime pater, si de mei status continencia vobis placuerit aliqua peraudire, significo, si placeat, per presentes, quod ad illarum confeccionem [to. 48], corporis et anime, ut suspicor, utranque habui sanitatem. Inde p[.] collaudetur. Sed revera, pater reverende, totam pecunie summam qu[am michi de]liberastis ultimo in recessu, quid in communibus magistrorum salariis,⁶ [.] necessariis expensis totaliter ebursavi, prout per scedulam presentibus in[clusam] particulariter vobis poterit lucidius apparere. Quapropter, pater reverende, vestram deprecor paternitatem affectibus viscerosis, quatinus uberiores pecunie copiam per cursorem suo proximo in adventu michi dignemini destinare cum singulis vestris arbitrio et voluntate, quibus in quantum quod virium potencia suppetit,

¹ MS. *simialis*.

² Sic : *quod* seems unnecessary.

³ Sic.

⁴ MS. *acquiesceret*.

⁵ Sic.

⁶ Cf. No. 76.

me in omnibus conformabo, gracia summi Dei, qui vos prospere custodiat et semper de bono in melius faciat augmentari.

60. RESPONSIO.—Carissime fili; cum benedictione divina meaque mediante, te intime consaluto. Et fili carissime, quia de tui status prosperitate per tuam litteram michi iam noviter transmissam certitudinem intellexi peroptatam, unde non modicum gratulor de presenti: nam per relatus sodalium tuorum veredicos percepimus te in studiis scolasticis cotidianis sudoribus pro sciencie margarita fertiliter capiscenda instancius laborare. Dignum itaque fore duxi, ut pater suo studenti filio expensas subministret sufficientes. Quapropter secundum tue littere tenorem quinque marcas pro anno instanti¹ tibi destino per cursorem, te suadens pariter et exortans, quatinus tue discipline industriam adhibeas sudorosam, ut de te tui parentes et singuli amici materiam habeant gratulandi. Et altissimus gratiam tibi annuat in tue doctrine studio feliciter convigere.

61. Reverendissimi parentes, vel pater et mater, cum salutatione omnimoda previante, vobis et utrique vestrum me humiliter recom-mendo, vestrasque benedictiones cotidianis temporibus mihi dulcifluas, et necessarias obnixè implorando, et quod tam corporum quam animarum omnimoda perfruamini sanitate, quam vobis tempora annuat per diutina, prout melius sciveritis persuadere. Reverendi parentes, quia legum facultas, qua fruor tempore de presenti, uberiores exigit expensas quam grammaticæ facultas et sciencia actenus usitata, si² quod circa libros michi necessario indigentes³ plura expendidi quam putabam. Quapropter vestras deprecor reverencias affectu quo potero ampliori, quatinus de quadraginta solidis cum celeritate omnimoda qua poteritis michi dignemini providere, et eos michi trans-mittere per proximum intervenientem. Et reverencias vestras diu et feliciter sospes⁴ custodiat Pater uranicus residens in Olimpo.

[fo. 48v.] 62. RESPONSIO.—[Salut]em prout tua demerita hoc requirunt. Carissime fili, quia per tuorum[quorum]dam sociorum absit veridicas insinuaciones nostris auribus noviter [perven]it, quod

¹ Five marks, £3 6s. 8d., would be an ample allowance for a year: about this time, weekly commons might be as low as 4½d.: see Mr. Salter's article in *Essays in History presented to R. L. Poole*, p. 426-7. No. 76, below, gives commons as 8d. a week.

² for sic?

³ sic: misused, in the sense of 'needed,' 'needful.'

⁴ MS. sic.

more trutannico studium tuum iam detergis, discolorum [conso]r]cia necnon illecebra meretricum stimula turpiter frequentando, verum-eciam et bona nostra, que non modico¹ perquisivimus cum labore, nequiter devastando. Eapropter tibi precipimus sub benedictionis nostre intima forisfactura, quatinus omissis huiusmodi actibus lubricis, et tue discipline industriam² adhibeas de cetero vigiliorem : ut de te tui parentes materiam habeant gratulandi pariter et amici.

63. The same as No. 36, but addressed to an uncle.

64. To a prelate, on behalf of a woman who has repented of her dissolute life.

[fo. 49.] 65. Long allegorical letter in praise of 'our mother' and 'queen,' Rhetoric, whom some ill-treat—*faciem inornatis denigrant verborum sententiis, et vestes rudibus clausularum fimbriis inhoneste commaculant*—and others desert altogether for the *regina scaccarum*.

[fo. 49v.] 66. Reverende domine et amice confidentissime. Non promocionem quis deberet—*Antimetobola*—ut curiam consequatur, sed curiam consequi quis deberet, ut per curiam ipsam prosequens poterit promoveri : [*Agnominacio*]³ et quamvis ex hac causa comorari in curia fuerat alias maxima vobis cura, nunc, ut perpendo, vestra in hac parte voluntas deficit, et quasi more languentis insaniens amor mentis tediis vos infecit. [*Sinonoma*]³ Scio itaque tanti quod indiscreta discrecio vos taliter non comburat et urat, quod vos fallax fortuna constantem se mentiens non deludat. [*Antrapaspatos*]³ Et forsán in his factis vos acriter arguat divina dulcedo, et vobis irascatur pro meritis pax suprema, dum vos qui estis perisima⁴ mundi huius, fieri ultra optatis quam convenit videlicet cum dominis fulminare, in nubibusque tonare.⁵ [*Articulus*]³ Taliter enim agens est iustum quod inglorius, inops, inermis et iners ad locum priorem, ad statum deiectum, de alto ad basum, de divite ad mendicum, de regno ad carcerem regrediatur, cum rubore redeat, et [fo. 50] eciam revertatur. Vocatus dudum ad curiam iocosus et letus [. . .] diligenter plurima conspestisque⁶ grata insuper pluribus predicasti[. . .]ciam nunc caute vos queritis et sine merore receditis sitis [. . .] iuciis pauper-

¹ MS. *modo*.

² MS. *instriam*.

³ These names of figures of speech are interlined in the MS.

⁴ *id est terra* interlin. Cf. I Cor. iv. 13.

⁵ MS. *tenare*.

⁶ Sic.

tatem, pro copiosis diliciis siliquas suinas porci¹ et p[. . .] dolor postea tristi gaudio misceatur. Nam qui ab expertis ad inexperta se transfert, etsi quandoque accesserit quo letetur, succedit tamen frequentius parans luctum. Nec sumatis audaciam, etsi cor conveniat factis vestris, quia iocunda principia fines frequentius terminant luctuosi. Heu instabilis iste status, quem certissimus casus finit. [*Climax*] Complacenciam in curia vos vidistis, et visa desiderata plurimum cupivistis, ac ipsis fructus est cupitus. Sed sitis iam cauti, ne contingat quod nullus de cetero defruicione sit usus, quod non transeat in desolacionem cupido, et quod tenebra nulla sit de luce. Nam dum premissa contemnitis, videtur quod teipsum spernis, mundanam gloriamque detergis. [*Contrarium*] Hec enim revolvisse debuissetis per prius, et hoc ut credo fecistis, et tamen cum tibi ipsi a curia parcere nequivisti, quomodo parces aliis in his factis? Quis tibi nunc inscio opponere metuet, cum tibi dum sapiisti tam publice unica curia concludebat? [*Compleccio*] Pro istis et aliis in lacrimabiles questiones cogor prorumpere, et ipsi,² cum propter vos sim flebilis, respondere: Quis melius et tucius stetit quam incautus Iohannes: Quis est, si cadas, cui deterius continget quam tibi indocte Iohannes: Quis est, si decidas, cui maior rubor adveniet quam tibi innubilate Iohannes. Te tamen non redarguo eo quod cum curialibus eluxisti, sed te redarguo dum immoderatas delicias conquerendo, obtenebratis iam propriis oculis, nullatenus eluxisti. Idcirco ne sit tibi penale imminens istud factum, dum invitaret de cetero, a quo optimum omne datum,³ et qui post pressuras ac fletus affluenter largitur successum beatum. [*Coniunctio*] Devocionis ariditas pessimam prolem parit, aut defectus sciencie, seu delicata libido. [*Diaforasis*] Hoc tuos successus, quos sinistros reputo, quibus intimia mea crepant, amplius silebo, vel loquar, delebo de libro aut ferreo stilo scribam, cum viderim argumenta que militant pro et contra. Nunc utriusque quesiti complacent michi prima. Nunc hec displicent, placent fines. [*Epidiocesis*] Si vestrum verecundum ultra loquar, de ira vestra estimo quod sum certus: si silenter hoc teneam, de omissione doctrine sum certior: si calamo hoc conscribam, quod legentes cautos⁴ faciam, certissimum me cognosco. [*Epimone*] Verum ad maxime certum me applicans, hec obprobria scribens scribam ut sibi caventes caveant que prefeci. Claudio iam calamum,

¹ Cf. Luc. xv. 16.³ Cf. Iac. i. 17.² Corr. from *ipsius*.⁴ MS. *tantos*.

ut quiescam, eo quod nec mens nec materia amplius quid loquar in nullo penitus se diffundunt. In hoc opusculo quindecim colores depinxi: utinam quociens eos legeritis, vos reficiat eorum dulcor, et mei memor sitis, cum premissa recenseat amicitia vestra grata quam me vestrum post cantilenas has letas,¹ post modulaciones has gratas sonorum pariter et verborum coniungat Altissimus agminibus angelorum.

[66. Though in the form of a letter to a friend at court, this is really an exercise or treatise, illustrating certain rhetorical figures of speech: the writer professes to give 15, but only 12 are named. Note that they are roughly arranged in alphabetical order. *Antimetobola* = Antimetabole; *Diaforasis* = Diaphoresis; *Epidiocesis* = Epidiorthosis?]

66^a. [This is perhaps a continuation of No. 66.]

[fo. 50^v.] [. . .] carissimi quoniam a thalamo regine rethorice flosculoso colores fa[. . .] meis (?) carpinus universos: Itaque non dissonum racioni reputo nec colli-[. . .] opusculi finem secundum premissa coloribus huius regine thalami perlucidis[. . .]. Sed quia per preferta² satis liquet nullam colorum nomina preferenciam vendicare, ea sub latebris iam repono, quorum presens deveniet opusculum et vestigium epistolare, oculis nequaquam conniventibus eos suppliciter imprecando, ut colores respiciant mellicos et suaves, non³ pollentes a radiantibus⁴ in suis operibus contextendis sagaciter segregando, ut sua opera epistolaria ab his qui sciencia sunt imbuti contextentis famam merito valeant preconisare.⁵

67. Reverencias multiplices pariter et honores vobis parentibus, quorum adiutricibus manibus intermediis in etatem presentem me mundus abduxerit, et earundem adiutorio mee paupertatis declivitas sumpserit adiuvamen. Vestram⁶ humi prostratus benedictionem prelibatam invoco deposcendam. Carissimi parentes, quorum benevolencia et prosperitas super omnia mundana meo cordi simpliciter prebeant consolata, et eciam sensus meos interiores velut melle perunctos⁷ condiunt in odore, me vestre parentele venerabili humiliori modo quo scivero corditenus recommendo, ac eciam vos intuitu caritatis deprecor in affectu, quatinus me specialiter recommendetis meo magistro W., cuius me gratitudo taliter crescit in effectum, quod quidquid mearum virium compago poterit, facerem gaudenter, et

¹ Corr. from *lenas*.

² Sic.

³ *Pollentibus* struck through.

⁴ MS. *radientibus*:

⁵ MS. *sic*.

⁶ MS. *vestrum*.

⁷ MS. *perunctos*?

domino Iohanni D. et aliis quibuscunque me melius noveritis retineri. Et quia parentina viscera suis filiis necessitate compulsis sepius sunt roganda, vobis cum cordis constancia deprecor et exoro, quatinus per latorem presencium, sive per aliquem fidelem intervenientem, aliquam copiam pecunie, quam vobis placuerit, michi dignemini cicius providere: quia ipsa pecunia, quam mecum detuli Oxoniam, circa diversa necessaria totaliter est¹ expensa. Deinceps si de mea validudine vestre bonitati veritatem audire complaceat, sciatis quod in confeccione presensium ipsius superni gracia Salvatoris omni sanitate corporis firmiter gaudebam. Ad presens aliqua nova retegenda tanquam vera in mea noticia nullatenus sunt dicenda, excepta² quod pestilencia communis regnat Oxonie impetuosa, qua plurimi divites et egentes ulceribus et lenticulis percussi, viam universe carnis sunt ingressi. Non plura nisi certificetis in littera et remittenda ipsam pecunie summam in futurum transmittendam.³ In ipso Rege valeatis quem peperit uterus virginalis.

68. Reverendissimi pater et mater, mea recommendacione humillima previa filiali; vestrum utrique clareat evidenter, quod non modicum desiderant intrinseca mei cordis destatus vestri circumstanciis rumores placabiles⁴ exaudire, quos michi propinare dignetur Altissimus ille Deus: recolens eciam quod de vestra procederet voluntate, [fo. 51] de statu meo consimiles audire rumores. Inde satisfacio vo[. . .] faciens presentis littere cum tenore, quod ad littere presentis recessum co[. . .] Altissimus sanitatem: Sed revera pro meis expensis pecunia no[. . .] pretextu vos deprecor et exoro flexis genibus mei cordis, qu[. . .] exhibicionis solacione quacunque pecunie quantitatem que vestre cede[. . .] luntati pro presenti termino suffecturam michi latore presencium destinare curetis, et ad festum sancti Thome⁵ tam equum quam pecuniam pro meis expensis penes domum michi transmittere non tardetis, pront in vobis singulariter inficitur ancora spei mee. Filius summi Patris ad instanciam sue matris vos diu in prosperis custodiat et salute.

69. A clerk to a prelate, asking credence for the bearer, *clericus noster communis harum lator*, on matters touching the writer.

¹ *et* repeated.

² MS. *exa*.

³ Sic.

⁴ MS. *placabile*.

⁵ Probably Transl. of S. Thomas of Canterbury, July 7, at the beginning of the long vacation.

70. To a prelate, expressing penitence for past misdeeds, and asking for a letter of consolation.

[fo. 51v] 71. Magnifice princeps et illustris mi domine, humillima recommendacione premissa vestre dominacioni regratior toto corde : et retribuere dignetur omnipotens Deus noster de innata¹ vobis pietate, qua offensarum mearum non obstante piaculo, michi toto vestro favorem et dominacionem ad instanciam illustrissimi et metuendissimi domini mei principis favorabilem impertivit michi dominacionem graciosam promittendo. Quare, magnifice mi domine, ea qua potero cordis et mentis instancia supplico genibus provolutis, quatinus michi dominacionem solitam sub bone continuacionis exhibicione futura dignetur vestra sublimitas concedere graciose. Spero revera, illustris princeps, Deo teste, tantum adhuc, etsi non aliter, per oraciones et suffragia et bonum velle vestro complacere domino, quantum ex negligencia et gubernacione improvida eidem hucusque displicui quoquomodo. Unde meum velle et cogitaciones cordis M. R. S. vestro minimo, plena relacione commisi, innate vobis nobilitati supplicans, quatinus eidem audienciam favorabilem inclinare velitis. Et vestram magnificenciam conservet in prosperis, et ad altiora sublimet omnipotens Deus noster.

[71. Apparently to the King. For M. R. S., cf. No. 73, where they may stand for Roger Coringham, confessor to Henry IV.; 1409-11 : but it is not safe to build on the repetition of the initials.]

72. To a prelate and friend, whom the writer thanks for past favour shown to himself, and to his clerk, D.D., a priest : he complains of his friend's delay in replying concerning the clerk's affairs.

[fo. 52] 73. Serenissime et illustrissime princeps ; non latet in abditis serenitat[is vestre con]tinua devocio, sed claris pocius acceptata Deo pater operibus, humane laudis nedum commendata titulis,² sed divine maiestatis amplectitur brachio recompensis premienda perpetuis. Fatemur etenim et mundus oculata fide publicat universus, quod inter principes singulos mundi huius, quos ad regale³ tribunal vocaverit Deus ipse, clerum defendere et ecclesiam felicitare cura vobis maior, affectio singularior, et diligencior promptitudo. Et quo ad universitatem nostram, que tot et tantos a sue fundacionis inicio splendidos ecclesie militanti protulit professores ; fatemur quod si diebus nostris

¹ MS. *innata*.

² MS. *titulus*.

³ Corrected from *regalie*.

non ei fervencius astitisset regia celsitudo, desolacionis ante hec fuisset civitas et lacrimabili posita sub tributo.¹ Hec et huiusmodi pietatis opera summi Dei advertens pietas, que non citra, sed ultra condignum beneficientibus singulis talenta partitur, serenitatem vestram regiam morti proximam hominum² iudicio singulorum, velut Ezechiam³ alterum, convalescencie pristine reformavit. Nec hec scribendo, illustrissime princeps, oleo adhulacionis vos ungimus, sed ut ardencius accendatur ad Deum filialis vestra devocio, gracie sue dona et beneficia recitamus. Ceterum, metuendissime princeps, maiestatis vestre regie confessori venerabili fratri nostro M. R. S. sacre pagine professori, cui negocia quedam commisimus, vestro inicianda, terminanda et felicitanda iudicio, in quibus stant universitatis vestre prefate honor, quies, felicitas et studencium incrementa singulorum, aures pias clementer inclinet, et favorem prebeat in dicendis regia celsitudo, cui nos et causam nostram unanimiter commendamus; et quam ad ecclesiam⁴ regni et studii incrementa felicitet Deus ipse.

[73. Apparently from the University [of Oxford?] to the King: perhaps to Henry IV., after his serious illness at the beginning of the year 1409, when he was thought to be dying. The King's confessor, 1409-11, was Roger Coringham: possibly M[agister?] R. S. stands for him. (Wylie, *Henry IV.* (London 1884-98), III., 233 ff.; IV., 100 n. 5, 213.)]

74. Confrater et amice precarissime, cum dilectus michi W. D. clericus lator presencium ecclesiam parochialem de S. B.,⁵ Bathon' et Wellen' diocesis ex mea presentacione optineat impresenti, occasione cuius ad ordinem presbiteratus infra annum a tempore suscepconis eiusdem ecclesie iuxta precepta canonum, ut novistis, promoveri tenetur: Unde pro celebriori expedicione ordinum suorum fraternitatem vestram deprecor in his scriptis, quatinus favore vestro interveniente, idem clericus meus ordinem acolitus cum ordine subdiaconatus suscipere valeat in instanti celebracione ordinum in ecclesia W.,⁶ ac litteras dimissorias ad omnes ultteriores ordines a quocumque episcopo

¹ Cf. Thren., i., 1.

² MS. *homini*.

³ Cf. IV. Reg. xx., 1.

⁴ sic, for *ecclesie*?

⁵ Perhaps Sutton Bingham (Deanery of Merston), Shepton Becham (D. Crewkerne), South Bradon (*ibid.*) or Sampford Brite (D. Dunster). South Brent (D. Arbridge) was in the gift of the Archdeacon of Wells, the appropriator: but presumably he would be in a position to arrange for the ordination himself.

⁶ Perhaps Wells Cathedral.

catholico suscipiendos predicto clerico meo benigne concedi curare velitis, quod non ambigo fore difficile per vos expediri. Unde, frater precarissime, magnam michi faciet complacenciam vestra fraternitas antedicta : pro quo me reperietis ad ea que vestras honorem et beneplacitum concernere poterunt, ex cordis sinceritate propensius inclinatum.

[74. Date and persons uncertain. Evidently the clerk was so far only tonsured, for he had not yet received acolyte's orders, and all four minor orders were habitually given together.]

75. Ad Cunctipotentis beneplacitum et prospere salutis incrementum quidquid salute salubrius [fo. 52^v] [. . . am]ice carissime¹ vestrarum litterarum tenorem habeo merito recommendatum : vobis [. . . c]llarificans, quod in curia domini regis, vel extra, aliquem locum vacuum ad presens [. . . obt]inere non valeo competentem, ac similiter in huiusmodi officiorum pro[. . .]cia, prout experimento novistis, lapsum temporis convenit expectare : vestre igitur, si libeat non displiceat amicitie, eo quod vestra vota supplere non valeam ista vice, quoniam ad huiusmodi officia non solum per me, sed eciam per intermedias personas, investiganda pro vestre requisicionis complemento totis viribus procurabo.

76. In admiracionem vestris auribus minime deducatur, licet iam pro argento michi mittendo benignas aures pietatis vestre effusis precibus audeam molestare. Cum hic² sine gravibus expensis evadere non valeam, difficulter et vix michi usque ad recessum latoris presencium sufficet pecunia pro expensis, ex eo quod non solum in communibus in qualibet septimana non minus octo denariis evadere valeo, sed eciam in diversis aliis necessariis pecuniam meam assumptam expendidi et amodo expendere me oportet, videlicet in expensis viaticis usque Oxoniam pro me et equo meo iij. s. iiij. d. ; Item in comparacione duorum librorum Oxonie, scilicet codicis, digesti veteris, post accessum meum ibidem vj. s. viij. d. ; Item domino doctori a quo leccionem audio ordinariam ij. s. ; computatis et mercede³ mancipii nostri et coci, pensione studii mei, multisque aliis necessariis, que ob verborum nimietatem numerare desisto, evidencius imminet me expensas irrationabiles non fecisse. Preterea unum vobis censui declarandum :

¹ MS. *cr̄me*.

² MS. *hi*.

³ MS. *mercedis*.

Propter hoc ¹ fuit hic melior disciplina in iure civili studentibus quam in presenti anno reperitur, ex eo quod duo doctores sunt hic continue legentes, ubi alias erat nisi unus; quorum uterque ad emulationem alterius maiorem facit processum, et utilius prebet disciplinis documentum. In aula vero in qua commoror bona et honesta est comitiva, et bonam habemus disciplinam, Unde Dei gracia, vestroque auxilio mediantibus, felicem perfeccionem in studio consequar inchoato. Quapropter benevolenciam vestram duxi instancius supplicandum, quatinus michi presencium cum latore quidquid vobis placuerit mittere dignemini, et quacunque vice quamlibet talibet sit summa quam michi mittatis, cum cursore in aliqua michi scedula rescribatis, et presertim hac vice de sanitate status vestri laudabilis declarando. Preterea libenter vellem ut me quovismodo per cursorem cerciorare an A. I. W. de H. literam accepistis, quam vobis cum eo transmisi circa festum sancte F.² Istis prehabitis, et a vestra discrecione intimius intellectis, preces meas penes vos censeam efficaciter expeditas, et ita in scolastico studio laborabo, quod somno pigricie non turpebo, set assidue vigilabo quousque scienciam attingerem³ peroptatam. Valet in eo cuius misericordie non est numerus: virtutes vestri corporis [fo. 53] et anime imperpetuum roborentur, et habeatis me recommendatum [.] et matri mee, omnibus amicis meis et tote familie vestre cui [.] sum indissolubili federe⁴ merito alligatus, nam eius gratitudo [.] recessit memoria nec unquam oblivionis dispendium patitur.

[76. From a student of Civil Law (*cf.* no. 61) at Oxford, to his father: a most precious document. Compare Mr. Salter's article in *Essays . . . presented to R. L. Poole* (Oxford, 1927), 421 f., on *An Oxford Hall in 1424*: where the student is under the charge of a tutor. The student in this letter, being a legist, must have been a graduate, at least a B.A.: he has more independence and pays his own expenses. Note the 'ordinary' lecture, for which see C. E. Mallet, *History of the University of Oxford*, I, 184; Rashdall, *Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages*, I, 207 f., 426. For fees, see Mallet, *op. cit.* I, 199; Anstey, *Munimenta Academica* (Rolls Series, 1868), xcvi., 401, 427: the fee for Canon Law lectures was 3s. 4d. but the Civil Law fee does not seem to be specified. Note, too, the

¹ It seems that a negative should be inserted, to make this agree with what follows. The meaning must be: "there has *not* been better study . . . than in this year."

² Perhaps St. Frideswide, 19 Oct.

³ MS. *attingere*.

⁴ MS. *fedore*.

very small number of regent doctors—two or even one—lecturing at the time, which would mean a correspondingly small number of students (*hic* must surely mean the University, not the Hall): Again, note the effect of competition. There is no explicit mention of a *lectura aularis*, unless it is referred to under the term of the “good discipline” in the Hall: a few lines above, *disciplina* had been used to mean *instruction*. For the tuition in Hall, see A. B. Emden, *An Oxford Hall in Medieval Times*, Oxford, 1927, pp. 207-8: a most important work for the life of the Halls, particularly chapters iii. and ix.

This student was of course at a Hall of Legists, where living was supposed to be rather higher than in the Halls of Artists (Emden, *op. cit.*, pp. 40-2). The weekly commons are 8d., fairly high compared with some other figures (Salter, *op. cit.*, p. 427). Payment has to be made to the manciple and cook: these are evidently the ‘greater’ and ‘lesser’ servants whose charges are fixed by statute: a Law student living on this scale would have to pay them 4d. and 2d. respectively (*Mun. Acad.*, 469: Mr. Anstey seems mistaken in supposing that these servants were the prototypes of the modern ‘Scout’ and his assistant (*ibid.*, xcvi.). The ‘study’ for which the student has to pay, may simply be a loose term for his *camera* or room; or it may be used in its stricter sense: it was a frequent arrangement for several students to share a large bed-sitting-room (*camera*), off which opened a number of small studies, in which each student could work in privacy. This system can still be traced in the surviving remains of mediæval academic architecture (*cf.* Willis and Clark, *Architectural History of the University of Cambridge*, Cambridge, 1886, iii., 297 f., on *Chambers and Studies*: *cf.* i., pp. xix-xxviii., on *Hostels* at Cambridge).

77. Cum humili recommendacione seipsum totum et quidquid potest reverencie vel honoris. Reverende pater; docet experientia cotidiana, quod continuus labor sepe facit iuvenes studium recusare; nec mirum, cum¹ dicat sapiens, quod ludus naturaliter debetur requies et antiquis;² ad hoc eciam habemus exemplum, quod arcus qui est continue tensus, minus bene ad metum eiicit petilium seu sagittam. Et consimiliter homo qui est continuo labore vexatus studii, minus bene proficiet et durabit. Huic eciam concordant verba Catonis³ sic dicentis: *Interpone tuis, etc.*; ut possis animo qui vis⁴ sufferre laborem. Quocirca paternitati vestre votivis precibus supplico, sicut possum, quatinus michi equum bene apparatus una cum expensis ad festum Corporis

¹ interlin.

² Sic: perhaps a word is missing: *ludus nat. deb. iuvenibus et requies antiquis?*

³ Cf. *Great Cato*, Book iii., 6 (*Early English Text Soc., Orig. Ser.*, 117, p. 588): *Interpone tuis interdum gaudia curis, Ut possis animo quemvis sufferre laborem.*

⁴ Sic.

Christi dignemini destinare, ut vobiscum¹ et cum aliquibus meis amicis aliquid poterit consolari, et tunc per Dei gratiam atque vestram, cum rediero ad studium meum, magis proficiam melius et durabo.

78. Karissimo cognato suo cordialiter diligendo, salutem cum toto affectu complacendi. Amicitie vestre evidenter instilletur, quod manus latronum inaccessi violentas, qui totam pecuniam in itinere urgentes rapuerunt: quapropter amicitiam vestram, de qua non interest quovismodo dubitare, rogo incessanter prece humili et devota, quatinus aliquod subsidium gracie michi volueritis propinare, super quo valeam degere quousque terminus fuerit consummatus, etc'.

79. Suis parentibus post Deum super omnia metuendis, eorum filius si placeat, salutem cum reverentia filiali, seipsum ad omnia eorum genera² famulatum. Reverende paternitati vestre insinuacione presencium cupio affectanter declarare, quod de statu vestro pariter et amicorum scire desidero totis viribus mei cordis. Et si de statu meo vobis scire placeat, sciatis me sanum et incolumem Dei gracia favente Oxonie permanentem. Scientes insuper quod pecunia³ michi missa gracie ad studium litterale est expensa circa necessaria, necnon victualia sint solito cariora. Quapropter vestra benignitas certam porcionem pecunie cum armigero I. C. circa festum sancti I. B.⁴ dignetur destinare.

80. A student, to a friend, asking for help.

[fo. 53v.] 81. Suo amico et socio H. H. salutem in omnibus complacendi.⁵ Vobis pateat intellectui me in bono statu esse tam corporis quam anime, benedictus Deus. Quare multum admiror quare non aliquas litteras neque rumores de vestra sanitate hucusque auribus intellexi. Cuius causa vobis supplico, quatinus michi certificatis de vestra sanitate, ac eciam vobis opitutor, ut michi velitis mittere interludium, vel duo, vel tria, ad ludendum in aula domini mei in festo natalis Domini: unde corditer vobis rogo ut in littera michi certificetis predicta, et hoc per proximum intervenientem si poteritis; quia nichil contra posse; non vobis noceat sancta⁶ sed vobis liceat nova de London' tracta facta in octavis sancti M.⁷ non

¹ MS. *cum vobiscum*.

² Sic.

³ *vobis* has been added above the line: *a vobis* seems required.

⁴ S. John the Baptist, 24 June?

⁵ Sic: a phrase like *cum desiderio*, after *salutem*, seems to be required.

⁶ Sic: MS. *scā*.

⁷ Sic.

plura ad presens dico, sed valete in Christo, qui vobis prosperos successus augeat et felices.

82. From a student (?) to his mother, asking for news : he wishes *ad festum sancti T. vestram preamabilem visitare personam*, without delay.

83. Viro venerabili et discreto domino I. de H. canonico de B. suus si placeat T. de B. seipsum cum omnimoda reverencia et honore. Reverende domine, beneficiorum vestrorum immensitas que michi continue immerito cumulantur me ad retributionis vicissitudinem reddidit penitus impotentem ; et quia ad recompensationem in presenti non sufficio, meam insufficienciam supleat qui bonorum omnium noscitur retributor. Preterea de nostro ultimo colloquio, videlicet de E. a domino R. de S. faciendo, vobis¹ presencium serie notifico, quod ad presens implere non potuit, eo quod per aliam viam transivit qua domum redire cicius² valeret. Eciam rogo vos quanta possum instancia, quod domino R. de O. ex parte mea pro suis beneficiis undique largitis, vestro mediante adiutorio, grates quam plurimas impendatis, et eo³ ad festum sancti M. vestram reverendam personam visitare propono, que vigeat et valeat per tempora feliciter successiva.

84. Two lines of a letter to a friend : the letter breaks off, as the upper part of fo. 54 has been torn away.

[fo. 54.] 85. The upper part of the leaf is torn away : there remains the end of a letter (possibly a continuation of no. 84) to a friend, asking him to put aside long-standing and undeserved rancour, *et me si placeat recommendatum domino I. de B. patri meo qui michi suam benediccionem paternalem concedere dignetur*.

86. From a student (?) to his father : he is well, but in great need of clothes and other necessities, and asks *quatenus pannos michi competentes seu argentum pro eisdem comparandis per presencium latorem michi mittere festinetis*.

87. From a son to his father, against calumniators. The end of the letter, contained at top of verso of fo. 54, now missing.

[fo. 54v.] 88. Salutem :⁴ amice karissime tenore presencium de ultimo nostro colloquio, et facio manifestum quod si a me ad citharizandum adiscere volueris, pacto inter nos facto videlicet xx^{ti}. s., scire

¹ MS. *nobis*. ² MS. inserts *non* corrected to something else, illegible.

³ Sic MS. : perhaps for *extremo*, 'lastly.'

⁴ The first line is injured, as the top of the page is torn away.

digneris quod ad¹ festum sancti T. tibi domum declinare propono et tecum per autumnum totum permanere. Quocirca tibi consulo quatinus tuam voluntatem tuis literis volueris michi mittere, et si pactum inter nos factum permanserit, xl.d. pro una cithara trans-mittere volueris persolvendos,² sciens pro certo quod tantum pro tuis x. s. habebis de me, pro quanto xx^{ti}. s. Oxonie te persolvere oporteret. Vale in Deo etc.'

89. LITTERA PRO MEMORIIS MILITUM ORDINIS GARTERII DECEDENCIUM IN GUERRIS IN PARTIBUS TRANSMARINIS.—Carissime et predilecte consocie ; cordiali salutatione premissa : Transiturus in partes transmarinas Galliarum in expeditionem sui iuris divino nutu prosequend', dominus meus suppremus et metuendissimus, ordinis militaris beati Georgii martiris de societate Garterii, ut vestra satis novit discrecio, superioritatem tenens, ea que superioris officium interim pertinent, sua maiestate regia michi committere dignabatur. Ut igitur iniuncta michi per eundem dominum meum metuendissimum mandata adimplere censear, ut astringor, discrecioni vestre, cui placuit eiusdem ordinis consocium profiteri, per presentes significo, quod nobiles spectabilesque milites E. et F. dominus de G. predicti domini mei metuendissimi fideles dilecti, ac dicte societatis Garterii consocii, in obsequiis dicti domini mei strenue militantes, nuper ab hac luce migrarunt, quorum animas suscipiat sinus Abrahe, et beatorum consortio dignetur, queso, misericordia Redemptoris nostri aggregare. Eorundem etenim obitus eapropter vestre discrecioni notifico, ut dicendarum missarum numerum pro ipsorum animabus compleri faciatis ; ad quas in hoc casu non tam vestra discrecio, quam eciam singuli dicti ordinis consocii iuxta status sui qualitatem et statutorum regulis obligantur. Ad quod, karissime et predilecte consocie, absque procrastinacionis incommodo exequendum singuli consocii verbotenus vel litteris exhortantur. Pium et revera in hoc casu meritum arbitratur absque more dispendio debitum adimplere. Discrecionem vestram conservet Altissimus in prosperis et honore. Datum sub sigillo communi ordinis supradicti.

[The initials E., F., G., are probably fictitious. As regards date, the absence of the King in France must refer to one of the expeditions of Henry V., 1415, 1417, or 1421.]

¹ Interlin.

² MS. persolvendas.

(To be continued.)

WOODBROOKE STUDIES.

CHRISTIAN DOCUMENTS IN SYRIAC, ARABIC, AND GARSHŪNĪ,
EDITED AND TRANSLATED WITH A CRITICAL APPARATUS.

BY A. MINGANA.

FASCICULUS 5.

VISION OF THEOPHILUS.

Or the Book of the Flight of the Holy Family into Egypt.

PREFATORY NOTE.

I GIVE in the following pages the text and the translation, accompanied by a critical apparatus, of an apocryphal story dealing with the flight of the holy family into Egypt and the life which it led in that country. The story is cast in the mould of a vision and entitled *Vision of Theophilus*, who was Patriarch of Alexandria in A.D. 385-412.¹ Of all the Patriarchs of that great city he is probably the one who showed more zeal in the destruction of pagan temples and monuments.

I have edited the text from the three extant manuscripts. Two of them belong to my own collection of manuscripts and are numbered Mingana Syr. 5, and Mingana Syr. 48 (henceforth M. 5 and M. 48 respectively). The third manuscript is the Borgian Syr. 128 or to give it its full title: *Borgiano Siriaco* 128, now in the Vatican (henceforth V.). M. 5 is dated 1790 of the Greeks (A.D. 1479), and M. 48 is dated A.D. 1906, but is copied from a manuscript dated A.D. 1757. As to the Borgian manuscript it is dated A.D. 1720. Of all the three manuscripts the only one that gives a complete and continuous text is M. 48, because M. 5 is incomplete at the beginning and its text begins after the middle of the story, while V. has two

¹ The sources for his life are well analysed in Smith and Wace's *Dictionary of Christian Biography*, iv. pp. 999-1008, and in *Dictionnaire d'histoire et de géographie ecclésiastiques*, ii. pp. 319-323.

lacunæ towards the end. I have placed the text of M. 48 in the body of the story and relegated the variants of V. and M. 5 to the footnotes. M. 5 and M. 48 do not exhibit many important variants when compared with each other and seem to emanate from a single manuscript, while V. 128 in which textual discrepancies are deeper in quality and more numerous in quantity seems to have been copied from a manuscript that had undergone more changes at the hand of the copyists.

In the three manuscripts the story is entitled the *Third Book* and forms part of a work divided into five (in reality six) Books containing the apocryphal history of the Virgin and her Son. The first Book deals with the Annunciation of Mary, the second with the Nativity of our Lord¹; the third contains the present Vision of Theophilus; the fourth is the Gospel of the Infancy; the fifth and the sixth deal with the death and the Assumption of the Virgin. As I shall presently point out, all these texts, with the exception of the third Book or the Vision of Theophilus, have already been published.

If we assume that this division of the story is original we shall have no difficulty in maintaining that from relatively ancient times the Vision of Theophilus constituted an integral part of the apocryphal life of Christ and His mother in some communities belonging to the Monophysite West Syrian Church. The East Syrian Church being mainly Nestorian knows nothing of the Vision of Theophilus in any shape or form.

My collection of manuscripts contains also two Garshūni texts of the story, one of which, Mingana Syr. 39, is dated 1773 of the Greeks (A.D. 1462). The second is numbered Mingana Syr. 114 and is of much later date. I have, however, made no use either in the text or in the translation of any of these Garshūni texts. I had a glance at the text of Mingana Syr. 114 and I am under the impression that it is a translation of the Syriac text that I am editing and translating in the following pages.

The text that immediately follows the Vision of Theophilus is that edited by Wright in 1865² and by Mrs. Lewis in 1902.³ With

¹ It is attributed to James, "the brother of our Lord."

² *Journal of Sacred Literature*, 1865, vi. 417-448; vii. 110-160.

³ *Apocrypha Syriaca* (Studia Sinaitica, xi.).

this text should be compared Budge's text and translation of the life of the Virgin, which covers a more extensive ground.¹ For the Greek and Latin texts of the tradition we refer the reader to M. R. James' well-known book.²

As Nau³ has pointed out in a short analysis that he gave of the story according to the imperfect Borgian manuscript some traditions embodied in the narrative are attested by Rufinus⁴ and Sozomen.⁵ These historians will be quoted in the footnotes that I have added to the translation.

There is probably a reference to our document in an Arabic Jacobite Synaxarium of Coptic origin,⁶ which under the 6th of Hatur (2 November) reads: "On this day the Saviour our God, our King, and our Lord Jesus Christ was united to His pure disciples at Kuskam, which is al-Muḥarraḡ. It is there that the first Mass was said, as testify St. Philotheus (read: Theophilus) and St. Cyril."

I believe that the above reference is to the present document, which informs us that the first Mass was said at Kuskam, and which, as we shall presently see, is attributed at the end to St. Cyril of Alexandria. The document bears out also the fact that it was at Kuskam that Jesus was united to His disciples. As to the copyist's error of Philotheus for Theophilus it can easily be explained through early and undotted Arabic characters. Other references will be found in the footnotes.

The author makes the mistake of mentioning in connection with some events of his story the name of Theodosius "the Younger," but as the life of John the Baptist which I edited and translated in the first volume of my *Woodbrooke Studies* shows⁷ it is under Theodosius the Great (376-395) that those events, including the destruction of the temple of Serapis in 391, took place. Other historical inaccuracies will be corrected in the footnotes.

It does not seem probable that either Theophilus or St. Cyril wrote the story. I incline to the view that the work is by a late Coptic Bishop, such as Cyriacus, Bishop of Oxyrhynchus whose

¹ *The History of the Blessed Virgin Mary*, 1899.

² *The Apocryphal New Testament*, 1924.

³ *R.O.C.*, xv. 126-127.

⁴ *Pat. Lat.*, lxxiii. 1155.

⁵ *Hist. Eccl.*, v. 21.

⁶ *Pat. Orient.*, iii. 255.

⁷ *Woodbrooke Studies*, i. 255.

edition of the apocryphal Gamaliel's work, the *Lament of the Virgin* and the *Martyrdom of Pilate* I edited and translated in 1928.¹ Indeed the *mise en scène* and many stylistic expressions that characterise the present *Vision of Theophilus* point to the author of the two above works.

In a note that I added to my edition and translation of the above *Lament of the Virgin*,² I followed Schermann³ and Cheikho⁴ in placing Bishop Cyriacus in the fifteenth century. From the fact, however, that he is the author of the Ethiopic liturgy of St. Mary, it does seem probable that he flourished at an earlier date. As the Rev. R. M. Woolley has pointed out to me, the threefold Coptic liturgy of Basil, Gregory, and Cyril was definitely fixed and stereotyped before the twelfth century and it seems unlikely that a Coptic Bishop should have composed another as late as the fifteenth century. Further, the Ethiopic liturgy itself, which has been ascribed to the above Bishop Cyriacus seems to postulate a much earlier date than the fifteenth century. I cannot, therefore, find any strong reason militating against the hypothesis that Cyriacus might have lived, say in the eleventh century of our era.

The above opinion receives a striking demonstration from the fact that Arabic seems to be the original language in which this pseudo-Theophilus wrote his treatise. There is not the slightest doubt in my mind that the Syriac text that I am editing and translating is a translation from Arabic. The proofs for this assertion are numerous and undoubted. The following will be deemed sufficient :—

1. There are in the narrative distinct Arabic words which could not have crept into the Syriac text except through an Arabic original :—

(a) *سلفه مهممى* which in Arabic would be *حلفا وسقط* *alfa and rush-nut*.

(b) *مبصر بالانور* *ازدا جبال* before another Church is dedicated on the earth. This verb *tithikraiz* is here undoubtedly a transliteration of the Arabic *تكرز* which in vulgar parlance of Egypt stood for *تكرس*. That the verb is to be so considered is

¹ *Woodbrooke Studies*, ii. pp. 178-332.

² *Ibid.*, ii. p. 182.

³ *Aegypt. Abendmahlsliturgien*. He places him c. 1444 "nach mittheilung. von H. Prof. Euringer."

⁴ *Catalogue des manuscrits des auteurs arabes Chrétiens*, p. 170.

borne out by the fact that it occurs over and over again in Egyptian Arabic documents.¹

(c) *ܕܢܐܐ ܕܚܝܬܐ* *a virgin girl*. The word *bukhrtha* is here certainly translated from an Arabic sentence : بنت بكر .

(d) *ܕܚܪܝܡܐ ܕܐܝܘܒܐ* *in honour and majesty*. This 'azzēzutha used in the sense of "honour" is the Arabic 'izz in the sentence : . بجز واکرام .

(e) *ܡܠܝܬܝܢ ܡܠܝܬܝܢ ܡܠܝܬܝܢ* *they had little pity*. The word *kallīlīn* as used here is the Arabic *Kalīlah* in some such sentence as رحتهم قليلة .

(f) The names of the angels *Gabriel* and *Michael* appear always in the three manuscripts as *ܓܒܪܝܐܝܝܠ* and *ܡܝܚܐܝܝܠ* in the Arabic fashion جبرائيل and ميخائيل .

2. There are in the treatise many purely Arabic expressions which are foreign to the genius of the Syriac language :—

(a) *ܕܢܬܐ ܡܥܝܐ* *I fled with you*. This expression is certainly the Arabic هربت بك . Similarly the expression *ܡܠܝܬܐ ܡܠܝܬܐ* *and I entered into the town with Him* is the translation of an Arabic . ودخلت به . Likewise the phrase *ܕܡܠܝܬܐ ܡܠܝܬܐ* *they strove to kill me* is the translation of an Arabic جاهدوا . Finally the sentence *ܡܠܝܬܐ ܡܠܝܬܐ ܡܠܝܬܐ* *they were amazed at the glory* is the translation of an Arabic . تعجبون من . In all the above quotations the particles governed by the different verbs in question are those governed by the Arabic and not the Syriac verbs used.

(b) *ܡܠܝܬܐ ܡܠܝܬܐ ܡܠܝܬܐ* *they had no opportunity*. This denotes the Arabic . ما وقع فرصة .

(c) *ܡܠܝܬܐ ܡܠܝܬܐ ܡܠܝܬܐ* *and he turned towards the east*. This is the Arabic . والتفت بوجهه الى المشرق .

(d) *ܡܠܝܬܐ ܡܠܝܬܐ ܡܠܝܬܐ* *who are more wicked than Herod*. The use of the comparative *bīsh* in the mas-

¹ See my *Woodbrooke Studies*, vol. i., pp. 280, 281, 282, etc., and *Pat. Orient.*, x. 262, etc.

culine singular is a translation of the Arabic *اشتر*. The Syriac would have been in plural *حسب*.

(e) *ومعه ماله* and *they began to speak*. The verb *Kām* used here to express "to begin" is the vulgar Arabic *Kāma* in such expression as *وقاموا يحكون*.

(f) *ولا اقصه ميمر من تحتها* and *I found no water*. This *middaim min* is a translation from a corresponding Arabic sentence.

(g) *لا بد ان لا اقول في مكانهم* *I do not know in which place they are*. The Syriac construction of this sentence denotes such Arabic sentence as *ما اعراف لهم*.

3. There are some words which are masculine in Syriac, but are used in the treatise in the feminine gender under the influence of the corresponding words in the Arabic language in which they are feminine. This anomaly can easily be explained by the fact of an Arabic original lying before the translator :—

(a) *وهيها اكلها* and *the tree worshipped*.

(b) *واكلها اكلها اكلها* and *the tree was called Mukantah*. In both of these examples the Syriac *Īlāna* is masculine but has been used in feminine under the influence of the Arabic *شجرة* which is feminine.

(c) *وهيها اكلها اكلها* and *the staff grew up in that hour and gave fruits*. Here also the Syriac *Shabbūka* is masculine but has been used in feminine under the influence of the Arabic *عصا* which is feminine.

In my opinion the above and many other similar sentences point decisively to an Arabic original for the narrative. That Arabic original seems to have been translated at a time prior to the fourteenth century into the Syriac text which we have before us, and this Syriac text was re-translated into the Arabic version exhibited in the Garshūni manuscripts : Mingana Syr. 39 and Mingana Syr. 114, to which we have referred above.

The origin of the Vision may be traced to the fact that its author, noticing that there was a gap in the apocryphal Gospels of the Infancy and in the Life of the Virgin in connection with the flight of Christ

into Egypt and the life of the holy family in that country, he endeavoured to fill it. The supplying of the deficiencies of the apocryphal stories relating to Christ and His mother gave him also the opportunity of enhancing the value of the shrine of Kuskam for which he shows special predilection. To avoid unnecessary references in the footnotes of the translation to this locality constantly spoken of as "this holy mountain," "this mountain," "this holy house," "this house," etc., I refer the reader to what I wrote elsewhere on the subject.¹

The above surmise does not imply that every historical detail in the story was invented by the author, whose only task seems indeed to have been to take the material for his narrative from local tradition and to put it in the form in which we find it before us. He made use also of some apocryphal books and of some works on ecclesiastical history with which the Egyptian scholars of his time were familiar.

The critical apparatus that I have ventured to add in the footnotes will show the nature and antiquity of the sources that might have been used by him.

We may infer from the above considerations that like the *Apocryphal Jeremiah* and the *Life of John the Baptist* which I edited and translated in the first volume of my *Woodbrooke Studies*, and like the *Lament of the Virgin* and the *Martyrdom of Pilate* which I published in the second volume of the same series, the present document is thoroughly Coptic in origin. The only link that connects it with the Syriac Church is its translation into Syriac by a West Syrian Monophysite living in or near Egypt.

The actual writer of the story is given at the end of the narrative as Cyril, who avers that he had heard it from the holy mouth of his Father, the Patriarch Theophilus. This Cyril appears to be, as I said above, the great St. Cyril of Alexandria who succeeded Theophilus in 412.² For the real purpose of the present apocryphon both Theophilus and Cyril remain, however, in the realm of fiction, because although great historical personages they seem to have been made use of by the unknown writer simply for the convenience of the cast of his *dramatis personæ*.

Finally, from some phrases used in the story I am tempted to believe that the present document, like some other Coptic-Arabic

¹ *Woodbrooke Studies*, ii. 263.

² See my note at the end of the Apocryphon for a possible attribution to Cyril of Jerusalem.

lucubrations, is a speech or a homily delivered on the day of the feast of the Virgin.¹

TRANSLATION.

Again the third Book (containing) the flight (according to) the vision shown to² Theophilus, Patriarch of the great city of Alexandria, concerning the arrival of our Lady Mary, Mother of God, in the land of Egypt, and concerning the house which she and her beloved Son Jesus Christ inhabited in the holy mountain of Kuskam, on account of their great fear of King Herod.

The reason for the journey of the Patriarch and his coming was to see great and heavenly visions, and also Theodosius the younger, the orthodox Emperor, because this Emperor gave him the keys of the temples of the idols of all Egypt from Alexandria to Assuan, in order that he might take the wealth contained in them and spend it in erecting buildings for the Church of our Lord Jesus Christ.³

When he reached Assuan from the eastern side of the mountain and returned in following the western⁴ side of the mountain, there were with him ten Bishops of Upper Egypt,⁵ who spoke to him concerning the honour due to this holy house,⁶ and he expressed the desire to repair to the Church that was in it in order that he might be blessed by it and obtain its benedictions. They⁷ reached the Church three days before the festival of the mother of God, which falls on the twenty-second of the Coptic month⁸ of Tubah,⁹ which is the sixteenth of January.¹⁰ The Father-Bishops and all the monks who in-

¹ See my note in *Woodbrooke Studies*, i. 252.

² V. "Again we write the Book of the flight which has been revealed to."

³ The Emperor who gave Theophilus the keys of the pagan temples was Theodosius the Great (376-395) and not Theodosius whom the author calls the "Younger," who reigned from 408 to 450. See the same incident reported in a correct way in the document which I published in the *Woodbrooke Studies*, i. 225. As to Theophilus he was Patriarch of Alexandria from 385 to 412. The same error is found in an Arabic Jacobite Synaxarium in *Pat. Orient.*, i. 345.

⁴ V. omits "western."

⁵ Arabic *Sa'id*.

⁶ V. "this holy mountain."

⁷ V. "he."

⁸ V. omits "Coptic month."

⁹ The Coptic month of Tubah extends from the 27th of December to the 25th of January of our Calendar.

¹⁰ In a Coptic-Arabic Menologium printed by Nau in *Pat. Orient.*, x. 175, the commemoration of the death of the Virgin is assigned to 16th January. The same may be said of the Coptic-Arabic Menologia printed on pp. 197 and 213 of the same volume of *Pat. Orient.*

habited this holy mountain, who were three hundred in number, besought him to remain with them till after the feast of Mary, the mother of God, and then return in the peace of our Lord. Amen !

Now, O my brethern and beloved in Christ, I shall begin to speak of what I saw and heard in this holy mountain. It is imperative to give thanks to God who kept me until I reached this holy mountain, the mountain which God chose to inhabit.¹ And He dwelt there with His mother, the holy Virgin, as it is written : " God hath chosen Zion and hath made it His habitation."² The Lord dwelt in this holy mountain and the Lord shall dwell in it. The Lord loved this holy mountain, and dwelt in it with His holy and Virgin mother. He glorified it more than the towns of all the world, and He did not wish to inhabit another house, nor did He choose the house of a rich man but He inhabited this forsaken mountain in which dwelt no man as David says : " Because the Lord was pleased with Zion and chose it as a dwelling-place,"³ and there He dwelt.

O you holy mountain who became a dwelling-place to the Lord and a cause of joy and exultation to the angels and to all the inmates of heaven, who praise⁴ their creator who dwelt in you ! Blessed are you, O holy mountain, which has been glorified more than all the mountains of heaven, and which has been exalted above the mountains of heaven,⁵ because the Lord came down upon this holy mountain as He came down⁶ once upon mount Sinai,⁷ and there was joy, jubilation and dazzling light so that no one was able to go near the mountain and perceive except the prophet Moses ; and no one was able to see the face of the Lord and live⁸ ; but we saw Him in this holy mountain and we saw Him on the holy Throne,⁹ and we saw Him in Bethlehem when He became a man for us and put on a body from our Lady, the holy Virgin Mary, mother of God. We were sitting in darkness and in shadow of death,¹⁰ until He came and had mercy upon us, He who is good and lover of men, and until He repaired to these countries which were immersed in paganism more than all the world, and He illuminated us with the light of His divinity and His exalted glory.

¹ Cf. Ps. lxxiv. 2.

² Ps. cxxxii. 13 (Peshitta).

³ Cf. Is. ii. 2 ; M. omits this sentence.

⁴ Deut. xix. 20.

⁵ M. omits " holy throne."

⁶ Ps. cxxxii. 13.

⁷ V. " serve."

⁸ V. omits.

⁹ Exod. xxxiii. 20.

¹⁰ Matt. iv. 16 : cf. Is. ix. 2.

This holy mountain resembles the Mount of Olives which our Lord and His holy disciples inhabited. And you, O holy mountain,¹ our Lord and His mother for many days dwelt in you. The prophecy of Isaiah, the greatest of the prophets, who prophesied concerning the glory of this house in which we have assembled in this day and in this hour, has been fulfilled. When he prophesied about the coming of our Lord five hundred and sixty-seven years before it took place he said: "Behold a virgin shall be with child and shall bring forth (a son) and they shall call His name Emmanuel which being interpreted is, God with us"²; he also prophesied concerning this mountain in saying³: "God hath inhabited this mountain, and benediction and grace⁴ have inhabited it. Praises and canticles are in it always and for ever. Kingdoms shall cease and powers shall perish, and all the peoples shall change and pass away, and (we shall sit) solidly on their thrones, and our name and our memory shall not change nor pass away, except by death which (hangs) over men universally."

And you, O holy mountain, your privileges shall be eternal by the will⁵ of God; and because of the blessings which He recited over you,⁶ all the people shall come to you, receive your blessings and ask for forgiveness for their sins, according to the saying of the prophet Isaiah: "And it shall come to pass in the latter days that the mountain of the Lord shall be established above all the mountains and shall be exalted above everything, and nations shall flow into it, and all the multitudes shall rejoice at this mountain of the God of Jacob; and He will make the path straight for us in order that we may walk in it, for out of Zion shall go forth the law, and the words of the Lord from Jerusalem."⁷ You are truly⁸ the mountain of the Lord, and the house of the God of Jacob, because the one who established the law has dwelt in you with His mother, the holy Virgin Mary; and the way to this place is by faith, and everyone walks to-day to this derelict mountain, from towns and villages, and narrates the glory of this holy and pure house.⁹ Truly this is the desert of life, this is

¹ Of Kuskam.

³ This prophecy is not in Isaiah.

⁵ Lit. "like the will."

⁷ Is. ii. 2, with changes.

⁹ The construction of these sentences denote a Coptic writer.

² Matt. i. 23; Is. vii. 14.

⁴ M. adds "of God."

⁶ See them towards the end.

⁸ M. omits "truly."

the stretch of land chosen by the holy Virgin, our Lady Mary, and her Son, our Lord Jesus Christ.

St. John the evangelist, the son of Zebedee and the beloved of our Lord, testified in the¹ Apocalypse and said: "I saw a woman clothed with the sun, and the moon under her feet, and upon her head a crown of twelve stars. And I saw a serpent standing before her expecting her child that he might kill him, (a child) who rules the world with a rod of iron, and who went up to heaven unto God, and unto His holy throne."² And John said also³: "I saw a dragon casting water out of his mouth after the woman that he might drown her in water. And the earth welcomed the woman, was rent and swallowed the water which the serpent had cast out of his mouth after her. And there were given unto the woman wings of a bird and she flew to the mountains, to a place prepared to her by God," and she inhabited it one thousand two hundred and three-score⁴ days, which makes three years five months and ten days. And the serpent waxed wrath with the woman and went away to her children to sow the seed of war between him and them. And they kept the commandment of our Lord and the orders of Jesus.⁵

The woman whom we have mentioned above is Mary, the mother of Jesus. She is truly the Queen of all women. The sun in which she is arrayed is our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, who dwelt in her and illuminated all her body, and the moon is John the Baptist who was illuminated by the baptism of Christ, with which we clothed ourselves for the forgiveness of sins.⁶ And the crown of twelve stars over her head are our Fathers, the holy Apostles, through whom mankind entered into the path of truth. And the serpent⁷ is Satan, and the water which he cast out of his mouth is the anger which went out of Herod against the children whom he slew on the occasion of (the birth of) our Lord Jesus Christ, whom any one who acknowledges will fight against the same (Satan) for ever and ever.⁸ This

¹ V. "in the book of his."

² Apoc. xii. 1, 3-5 (with changes).

³ Apoc. xii. 15-16 (with changes).

⁴ M. "six," which is obviously incorrect.

⁵ Apoc. xii. 15-16, and 6, 17 (with changes and inversions of the order of the verses).

⁶ V. "Our sins."

⁷ V. adds "which followed her."

⁸ M. omits this sentence.

wilderness in which our Lord dwelt with His mother had been prepared for them by God.

And I will say with Jacob, the father of the tribes¹: "This is the house of God and the meeting-place of all the saints." As the name of the Lord God liveth,² when I entered to-day into this house my soul was filled with joy, gladness and satisfaction; and I forgot all my fatigue and the length of the journey which I had to endure and the exhaustion which had overtaken me; and the cares of all the world left me because she who is our Lady, mother of light, implored her Son and her beloved, to the effect that all who would enter into this house and pray in it shall be free from all the stratagems of Satan and the anxieties of this world.

What shall I say and what shall I utter to praise you, O our Lord Jesus Christ for the honour You did to me, me the wretched and the sinner Theophilus! You gave me your holy body and your innocent blood which I distribute to your people for the forgiveness of their sins. You gave me a throne on which to sit while I am not worthy of it, and You elected me to shepherd your people. You gave me a happy time, and fear forsook me; and you shut the mouth of the dragons who disturbed the peace of your people, the dragons that are the community of the impure Heretics.³ You gave us praiseworthy Emperors, like Theodosius the Younger, who love your truth and enjoin it on the churches of Christ, and the fear of Arius and all his soldiers ceased; (that Arius) on account of whom the holy Apostle, my father Athanasius, suffered persecution to the extent of going from place to place for twenty-seven years, while the Emperor was seeking him on account of the lies of the wicked Heretics. God willed this in order that in suffering the persecution of the Apostles he might have their reward in the Kingdom of our Lord Jesus Christ. It was a barbarous people (which he was appointed to shepherd) until our Lord Jesus Christ revealed Himself to it after the persecution (of Father Athanasius).

And (Athanasius) repaired to the great city of Rome where he became worthy of the benediction of the bodies of the holy and sweet-tongued Apostles Peter and Paul, and where he saw their faces

¹ Gen. xxviii. 17.

² i.e. "By the life of the name of the Lord God."

³ The Arians.

suffused with joy, and where they spoke to him real words.¹ After this he desired to build a church under the name of John the Baptist, but he did not succeed, because he was unable to erect anything from fear of the Heretics. It happened to him what happened to the prophet David at the time when he wished to build a temple to the Lord and he was not able to do so because of the fear and the vicissitudes that befell him.² And when (the Lord) wished to comfort him he said to him: "Thou shalt not do this, but the one who comes after thee shall build a house for me."³ This happened to me, because after the death of my Father Theodosius⁴ his throne was occupied by his father Peter, and when he also died he was succeeded by my Father Demetrius,⁵ whose office I assumed after him—the throne of the one of whom I am not worthy.

When I was ready according to the will of God, I built a church under the name of John the Baptist. When I had finished it, I placed in it all the vessels of the Church. I then erected at the back of it⁶ a church to the Three Children,⁷ and in it I placed also all its vessels,⁸ while their bodies were in Babylon. We were full of joy and gladness, and the (three) saints appeared in the church on the day of its consecration, and all the congregation⁹ saw them. All this

¹ Lit. "word for word." The author probably refers to Athanasius' visit to Rome in the early summer of 340. See his *Apol. ad Cons.*, 417, and *Fest. Ep.*, 13.

² All this is found in more or less similar terms in *New Life of John the Baptist* which I edited and translated in 1927 in *Woodbrooke Studies*, i. 256 (q.v.). See also *ibid.*, p. 257, my note on the erection of a church in Alexandria in honour of the Baptist. See also the Arabic Jacobite Synaxarium in *Pat. Orient.*, i. 345-347.

³ Chron. xxviii. 3, 6, etc.

⁴ Surely a copyist's error for *Athanasius*. The same succession of the Patriarchs of Alexandria is in the above life of John the Baptist, *Woodbrooke Studies*, i. 255.

⁵ Peter was succeeded in the see of Alexandria by Timothy in 380 and not by Demetrius. The error is possibly due to the copyist or rather to the translator who was rendering an Arabic original into Syriac. In an early and undotted Arabic text such a mistake may easily occur.

⁶ Or, "after it."

⁷ Lit. "companions of Hananiah"; i.e. Hananiah, Mishael and Azariah of Dan. i., ii.

⁸ M. "their vessels"; i.e. "their garments" or "their relics."

⁹ M. adds here "of the Church." The Church of the Three Children is also mentioned in the Arabic Jacobite Synaxarium as having been built by

happened through the intercession of the saints according to the will of God.

And the God-loving Emperor Theodosius came to Alexandria, the City of the Christians. When the Christ-loving and believing Emperor reached the city, I Theophilus went out (to meet him) with (banners of) crosses, accompanied by my suite and the notables of the city. We knelt before him and said to him : " Hail, O believing Emperor,¹ O lover of Christ² and of His holy cross, like the Emperor Constantine in his time ! Hail, O you who truly honour Christ ! Hail, O you who love Christ with all your heart, you whom Christ loved and on whom He bestowed peace and majesty ! You opened the doors of the Church, and the (faithful) had joy and honour in your time. May God open before you the door of His grace, and may He make your enemies your footstool !³ May the Lord who weaved a crown for you in this world, weave a crown for you with the saints in His heaven ! "

And (the Emperor) answered and said to me⁴ several times in humility : " Hail, O saint. These things have been granted to us by God through your prayers." And " you uphold me in the righteousness of your words," as David said.⁵

We led then (the Emperor) and brought him to the holy church of Mark the evangelist.⁶ After he had taken the benediction of the saint, the owner of the church, we led him again and proceeded to the churches which had been⁷ renovated in our time. He was very pleased with them, and said to me in smiling : " Blessed be the compassionate Lord God who does good things to His elect and beloved ones, and ' exalts them that are of low degree,'⁸ as the Book says : ' I shall praise those who praise me.' "⁹ You, O my Father, resemble our Father Abraham who received God with His angels

Theophilus. See *Pat. Orient.*, i. 353-354. Some incidents alluded to here are amplified in the Synaxarium. This is especially the case with a St. Yaħannes whom a cloud took to Babylon in order to transfer the bodies of the saints, but unsuccessfully because they did not wish to come to Alexandria.

¹ V. omits "believing Emperor."

² V. adds here : " Hail, O you who honour Jesus Christ." This comes after in M.

³ Ps. cx., l.

⁴ M. "to you."

⁵ Ps. cxix. 116 (with changes ; cf. Ps. xxxiii. 4).

⁶ V. "of the holy Apostle and evangelist."

⁷ M. "Church which has been."

⁸ Luke i. 52.

⁹ 1 Kings ii. 30.

because of his faith, and this was counted unto him for righteousness,¹ for ever and ever. You, O my Lord and my brother, became a friend to God and to His angels, and this is the reason why God exalted you and honoured you more than the Fathers, your Fathers (I mean) who held the same office before you. I give you, therefore, for all time, the keys of the temples² from the land of Alexandria to that of Assuan, in order that you may take from them any wealth which you will find in them and spend it in the erection of churches and monasteries, in the duration of my reign.” In that very moment he ordered the keys to be given to me. Then the inhabitants of the city led him away in great honour on account of the fatigue of the journey.

Three days after the Emperor summoned me, and I went to him and stood before him. We then went out, and I walked with him, along with the notables of the city and all the priests, until we reached the (temple of the) Camp of Alexander in which (the Great Macedonian Conqueror) had stored treasures, and the door of which he had locked and sealed.³ We found the door⁴ sealed with three seals so that no one should be able to open it. Indeed it had never been opened from the day of Alexander down to this day in which God who opened the eyes of the blind from their mothers' womb opened it. And God opened the eyes of my mind,⁵ and I saw on three doors three *thetas*—letters of the alphabet—inscribed on them. These three letters referred the first to *Theos* which means God, the second to *Theodosius*, the believing Emperor, and the third to my name *Theophilus*. I did not know this with my own earthly knowledge nor by my own power, but by the power of God who opened the eyes of the heart of the divine Theophilus.⁶

¹ Rom. iv. 3.

² Lit. “of these localities.” This incident is reported also in the life of John the Baptist in my *Woodbrooke Studies*, i. 255.

³ The author possibly refers to the great temple of Serapis which was destroyed in 391. Serapion, the avowed author of the life of John the Baptist, simply writes in this connection: “and especially the great temple of Alexandria” (*Woodbrooke Studies*, i. 255). The Arabic Jacobite Synaxarium in *Pat. Orient.*, i. 347, refers also the treasures to the time of Alexander.

⁴ M. omits “the door.”

⁵ Lit. “heart” which in Arabic means also “mind.”

⁶ This incident of the three *thetas* is found also in the Arabic Jacobite Synaxarium printed in *Pat. Orient.*, i. 346-347. It may be presumed that the author of the Synaxarium took his information from our present document.

In that hour the door, at the inner side of which was the great wealth, was thrown open, and the Emperor saw it and was amazed at the quantity of it. They rejoiced and glorified our Lord Jesus Christ, our powerful God.¹ And the Emperor² said: "It is God that has granted us³ this favour and the gift of this wealth."⁴ In that very hour he gave a portion of it to the inmates of the prison, to the churches and monasteries,⁵ and to the poor, the orphans and the widows, and no one was left in want in those days, because he satisfied the wants of all. He ordered what was left to be carried on a ship as far as the Capital. Afterwards I walked with him along with my suite, and we said to him: "Go in the peace of the Lord, and may His help be with you! May He make your enemies your footstool,⁶ and grant you happy times! May the years of your life be without fear, anxiety, and apprehension!"

And he answered and said to me: "May God be with you, O my holy Father! For God's sake do not deprive me of your prayers and supplications that are accepted by God whom you serve.⁷ May he deliver you and me in the day of trial⁸ from the demons and from the wicked wars the waves of which are rising against us like the waves of the sea! May He also give us His grace in the day of our passing away to Him, because it is He who possesses grace and grants forgiveness of sins now, always, and for ever and ever. Amen!"

When he had boarded the ship that was bound for the City of Constantinople,⁹ we returned to the city of Alexandria in great joy,¹⁰ and praised God for having given us in our days a good and just Emperor. A few days later we wished to accomplish what was ordered by the Emperor, and we went up to Egypt by the will of God, and we went round all the temples of idols, and discovered in them a considerable quantity of wealth. I distributed all this wealth to the poor and the needy, and to all the churches and monasteries found on the holy mountain. I gave orders concerning the churches

¹ V. omits "God."

² M. omits "Emperor."

³ M. "me."

⁴ M. omits this sentence.

⁵ M. omits "churches and monasteries," and for "poor" he substitutes "the weak."

⁶ Ps. cx. 1.

⁷ V. adds: "who is our Lord Jesus Christ."

⁸ V. "fear."

⁹ V. "Capital."

¹⁰ M. omits "in great joy."

that were to be built, and they were erected according to my instructions.

After all this I returned by the will of God to this holy, honourable and pure mountain, and informed myself concerning the honour due to it. I was accompanied by some Father-Bishops, and I wished to go to it and be blessed by it before returning to my town. In this way I attained what was in my mind, namely, to be worthy of praying in this holy¹ house which was the dwelling-place of God, of His angels and of His holy Virgin mother. O you holy house which resembles the heavenly Jerusalem! As God liveth,² I was astonished at this desolate house more than all the corners of the earth, because it was worthy of the fact that the Son of God and His mother lived in it, and did not wish to abandon this place which He had chosen in conjunction with His good Father and the Holy Spirit, to whom be glory for ever and ever. Amen!

O my brethren and my beloved, lo I have truthfully narrated to you what happened to me and to the good Emperor Theodosius the divine, me your Father Theophilus; and also what took place till, by the will of God,³ I reached this place. After this, listen O my brethren, to what I am going to say to you in good faith and in the fear of God, i.e. to the vision which the holy⁴ Virgin Mary, the mother of God, revealed for your sake, the knowledge of which I shall now impart to you:

It happened that after we had finished our nocturns and my brother-Bishops had slept in a place by themselves, I went up to the upper chamber in which the mother of God had sat in the days which she had spent in this mountain. When I rose (to pray) I stretched my hands, prayed and implored my God and my Saviour Jesus Christ and said: "Hear me as you heard my Father Alexander⁵ till he upheld the orthodox faith; hear me as you heard my Father Athanasius the holy Apostle, whom you helped in all his trials. Hear me in this way, who am unworthy of your service,⁶ because I am a sinner. I

¹ V. "holy and sanctified."

² i.e. by the life of God.

³ V. has twice "by the will of God" at the beginning and at the end of the sentence.

⁴ M. omits "holy."

⁵ Alexander became Patriarch of Alexandria in 313. Epiphanius (*Pat. Gr.*, xlii. 193-196) informs us that before dying he appointed the young deacon, Athanasius, as his successor.

⁶ M. "the service."

know that you hear me always, because you are near to all those who love your holy and pure name.

“O my Lord and my God, have mercy upon me, and do not let me return empty handed, me who have fixed my mind on you from my childhood to my old age. I beseech you to reveal to me your coming into the world and to this mountain which you visited together with your holy Virgin mother, and to this desolate house in which you established your habitation. I pray you to help me to build a big church, and we will glorify, exalt and honour your holy name. You are the one to whom are due power and glory with your Father and your Holy Spirit, now at all times and for ever. Amen.”

When my prayer was finished, a light shone on me, which was so dazzling that I believed that the sun itself was shining on me. And a throne of light appeared to me, on which was sitting the Queen of all women, the holy virgin, our Lady Mary, mother of God. Her face was illuminated like the sun from the light with which she was invested, and she was covered with a majestic brightness, and with her were many myriads of angels. I was so bewildered that I said: “Is there in all the world one who is able to contemplate this great majesty?” I saw Gabriel and Michael,¹ and a great multitude of other angels with them. When I looked and saw them, I fell on my face to the ground and became like a dead man, and Michael raised me and removed fear and dread from me.

And the holy Virgin Mary, mother of God, spoke and said to me: “Arise and fear not, O Theophilus, our servant² and the athlete who fights for the Christians. Hail, O Theophilus! Arise, be strengthened, look and see that I am the mother of³ Jesus Christ, the Lord of heaven and earth, the mother of the one whom neither heaven nor earth are able to comprehend, the one who was nine months in my womb by His Will. I am His mother and I gave milk from my breast to the one who feeds the world by His will.⁴ I am Mary, the daughter of Yonakhir, and my mother is Hannah of the tribe of Judah and of the house of David. I have revealed myself to you by the will of my beloved Son: I shall show you the One who was with me,⁵ who grasped at my knees and looked⁶ at my face as all other

¹ M. omits these names.

² M. omits “our servant.”

³ M. “our Lord Jesus Christ.”

⁴ V. “through His goodness.”

⁵ M. “on me.”

⁶ The manuscripts use here the present tense under the influence of an Arabic original.

children do when they weep before their mothers until they are carried by them.

At that moment I was carrying Him under my arm-pit, holding Him and kissing Him, while I was happy at my being able to walk with Him. I was cursing Herod and all his kingdom for the wickedness which he perpetrated against those holy and innocent children whom he killed and the hearts of whose parents he filled with great pain and grief. And Salome¹ used to take my Son at all times, caress Him and smile at Him ; and the blessed old Joseph used to carry the dresses in which my Son was clad and what was necessary for our food. Any time my father Joseph saw me handing the child to Salome he would take Him from me to carry Him on his shoulders and play with Him.

O Theophilus, I endured great hardship before reaching this land of Egypt. While we were in the east side of the town we sat under a tree because it was the time of the first Summer, which falls on the twenty-sixth day of the month of May. Joseph fell asleep from the exhaustion of the journey ; likewise Salome slept ; and I was left under the tree feeding from my breasts my Son on whom was a garment of the colour of a grape, a colour similar to that of the garment with which my parents clothed me in the Temple. After I wore that garment I never put it off again, nor did I put off the veil which I am wearing. And the colour of the sandals of my Son resembled the colour of gold and silver on His feet.²

When we were journeying we met two brigands, one of whom was an Egyptian from Egypt and the other a Syrian from Syria, a Hebrew from our land. And the Syrian brigand said to the Egyptian brigand : "I should have liked to plunder the garments that are on this woman

¹ In all the Coptic-Arabic documents Salome is a cousin of the Virgin and often accompanies Mary and Jesus. She is with them at the burial of Elizabeth (*Woodbrooke Studies*, i. 243). It is she who brings to Mary the sad news of the crucifixion of Jesus, walks with her to the Golgotha and follows her to the sepulchre (*Woodbrooke Studies*, ii. 184, 188, 245). According to some Coptic sources she is the daughter of Abimelech and sister of the priest Simeon, who took her after she had fallen into sin to Jericho in order that she might repent there. See *Journal Asiatique*, 1905, v. 430, and Nau in *R.O.C.*, 1910, 187-188. In an Arabic Jacobite Synaxarium of Coptic origin (*Pat. Orient.*, iii. 278) she is a midwife and helps the birth of the Virgin.

² V. "and there was a shoe on His feet."

and her Son, because they resemble the garments of Kings, and if I had encountered them in a place other than this I would have taken those garments from them, but I have no opportunity of doing it now¹ because they are near the town." And the Egyptian brigand said to him: "Let us proceed on our way. I never saw a child like this since I was born." And they went their way while uttering such words and conversing on this theme.² Then my Son relinquished my breast that was in His mouth and asked for water³ and said to me: "I am thirsty, give me a little water." And I looked round me and did not find the water that my beloved Son was asking for. Then I arose, took my beloved Son and brought Him to the town and asked the women (I met there) for water to give Him,⁴ but none of them wished to give us anything,⁵ as the inhabitants of that town had very little compassion.

When the brigands saw me entering the town, they came back and went to my father Joseph; and while he was asleep they abducted the sandals of my Son and fled. When I returned I awakened them and said to them: "Arise, and let us leave this town. I never saw people with less faith and compassion than its inhabitants, because I asked water from them and no one gave me any. The only gain that accrued to me from this town is that the sandals of my Son have been stolen!" And I wept and was distressed.

When my beloved Son noticed that I was weeping, He wiped off my tears with His holy hands, and stretched His small finger and made the sign of the cross⁶ on the earth, and instantly a spring of water was opened in it, from which water jetted forth and flowed on the ground. And we drank water as sweet as honey and as white as snow.⁷ Then my Son made the sign of the cross on the water and

¹ V. omits all this sentence.

² For similar details concerning not the nationality but the incidents attaching to the account given here of the good malefactor, cf. Aelredus Rhivallensis, *De vita eremetica*, 48, in the works of St. Augustin, *Pat. Lat.*, xxxii. 1466. Likewise in Budge's *History of the Virgin*, p. 59, the robbers are given their traditional names of Titus and Dumachus, but nothing is said as to their nationality. In other documents they are called Demas or Dysmas and Gesmas, or Genas and Gestas. Cf. James' *Apocryphal New Testament*, pp. 103-104, 161.

³ V. omits this sentence.

⁴ The original repeats here "my beloved Son."

⁵ V. "water" for "anything."

⁶ Or "made a sign."

⁷ V. "as milk."

said : " Let this water help, make whole and heal the souls and bodies of all those who shall drink of it, with the exception of the inhabitants of this town of whom none shall be healed by it."

Then we ate a little food and I lifted my beloved Son on my arms and we set off on our journey. In that hour the temples of the idols which were in the town fell and were smashed to pieces, and likewise the idols fell one upon another and were smashed.

And we repaired to the land of Egypt, and the mountains, the animals and the stones honoured my Son, and when we walked they walked with us. And my Son turned to those mountains, stones and animals and spoke¹; and He laid His right hand on the eastern mountain and His left hand on the northern mountain and said : " Stop "; and they stopped. And the traces of His two hands were impressed and seen in the mountains as if in dough² and in wax, and lo they are seen down to this day. And He said to them : " Be as a sign and a mark to all who are weak in the faith concerning my coming and do not believe that I came into the world ; but let the accursed unbelieving Jews and Herod be anathemas, together with those who do not believe in my holy name."³

And He said to the Mountains : " You have acknowledged me and believed in me while you have neither soul nor body, and those who have a soul and a body did not believe in me. And the kings whom I created⁴ in my likeness and in my image did not believe in me. Those for whom I came into the world did not believe in me, did not receive me nor did they honour me, but endeavoured to kill me till I reached this place. After this let my name and the name of my holy mother remain in power and honour⁵ for ever and ever from generation to generation."

We reached afterwards a town called Eshmunain. When we approached the first gate through which we wished to enter the town, we found images of horses on all the four corners of the gate, looking towards the town. In that very hour they fell and were broken up. My beloved Son spoke to them and said to them : " You shall be

¹ M. adds here : " to them."

² V. omits " in dough."

³ The Apocryphal literature of the New Testament is full of miracles performed by Jesus in Egypt. See Budge's *History of the Virgin*, pp. 44-47, and James' *Apocryphal New Testament*, pp. 74-75, 83. The miracles found in our document are in some respects more original.

⁴ M. : " Which are creatures."

⁵ M. omits " honour."

a sign to¹ this town and to its inhabitants for ever and ever." And in that hour they became as He said.

Further, there was in that place a tree which worshipped below the traces of the steps² of my Son, and cried saying: "Blessed be your coming, O Lord Jesus Christ, the true Son of God." And my beloved Son spoke to it and said: "Let no worm be found in you for ever, but be you a remembrance to all of my entry to-day into this town." And He touched it. It is the tree called *Mukantah*,³ and it⁴ shall stand for ever. From it we⁵ entered the market of the town of Eshmunain and we saw that all its adults and children were amazed at my beloved Son and admired the glory which was dwelling in Him, and they spoke and said: "We have never met with another child like this."

After this, while we were still in the town, five camels⁶ came near us and began to walk in the market; they rendered the road too narrow for us, and my Son looked at them, and in that hour they became stones down to this day. Afterwards a believing man in whom was found the grace of God received us in his house.⁷ And all the idols

¹ Lit. "in."

² Lit. "below the feet of the steps," and V. "below my steps and the feet."

³ This tree is the one called *Persea* in the tradition reported by the Byzantine historian Sozomen (*Hist. Eccl.*, v. 21) as follows: "It is said that people can see at Hermopolis (Eshmunain), a town in the Thebaid, a tree called 'Persea' the shoots, the leaf and the bark of which when applied to the sick, heal them of their diseases. The Egyptians report that when Joseph fled from Herod he went with the Christ and Mary, His holy mother, to Hermopolis, and that at the time when Jesus was nearing the gate of the town the tree which was high was so struck by the arrival of Christ that it bent itself to worship the Saviour. I have heard what I am saying of this tree from a considerable number of people. I believe that God performed this miracle in order to announce the coming of Christ. . . . A considerable number of Egyptians confirm this miracle that took place near them."

The visit of the holy family to Eshmunain is also attested by Rufinus (*Hist. Monach. in Pat. Lat.*, lxxiii. 1155): "We saw in the Thebaid another holy man called Apollo, from the country of Hermopolis, where our Saviour went with Mary and Joseph."

⁴ V. "I"

⁵ This sentence is placed in the MSS. at the beginning of the story. Finding that it was misplaced I put it in the translation in a place which I consider to be more natural to the sequence of the narrative.

⁶ Or "camel-riders" if we read *gammālē* for *gamlē*.

⁷ V. "with him."

which were in that town fell and were broken up, and all the priests of the idols took fright and hid in their houses in a secluded place. In the morning all the people assembled in the place in which we were, and lo with them were great multitudes of persons who were sick and stricken with different diseases, and also all those who were deaf and dumb and all those who were suffering from any kind of pain. My beloved Son laid His hand on each one of them and healed them from their complaints. In that town were seen many miracles and wonders,¹ and if I were to reveal to you all that happened there a book could not contain it.

After this a great throng of people crowded on us, and they pushed their way to me on account of the great number of miracles which my Son² performed in that day. We left the town from its northern part, and we walked a short while and reached a locality called *Kenīs*.³ The inhabitants of this town were very charitable,⁴ and I remained with them several days in the place in which we (first) went. May blessing be on that place in the name of my Son and in my own till the last day!⁵ And my Son wrought innumerable miracles in that place, and all those who had diseases or afflictions came to Him with faith, and He healed them in His abundant grace.

After this a carpenter heard of the numerous miracles which my Son was performing, and he knew Joseph before that day, because he had come to Jerusalem and Joseph had given him hospitality. When he saw us he received us and conducted us⁶ to his house. He had a son who was possessed with devils from his birth, and he had in him a powerful, pitiless, and cruel demon.⁷ And when we entered that town the demon took the boy and dashed him to the ground, and shouted from him: "What have I to do with you, O Jesus of Nazareth. Have you come to torment us before the time?"⁸ We left Jerusalem to you and fled and came to this town and you followed us here in order to torment us. Verily you are the Son of God." When he had uttered this my beloved Son said to him: "O accursed

¹ V. omits "wonders."

² M. omits "my Son."

³ Vowels uncertain. V. has "*Nikyās*."

⁴ Lit. "lovers of men."

⁵ V. omits "till the last day."

⁶ V. "received me and conducted me."

⁷ V. only "great demon."

⁸ Cf. Matt. viii. 29. V has "to torment me" and "that you came" for "have you come?"

demon, shut up your mouth and come out of him." And the child was healed in that very hour. And his father and mother arose and worshipped us and said: "Blessed are we that we were found worthy of this gift¹ more than all the world, because you entered our house while we were sinners." And they received us in their house² and gave us a great hospitality. And when we entered their house, the benediction of the Lord entered into them. And many people of those localities³ seeing the miracles which my Son wrought believed in Him.

After this the notables of the town asked the priests of the idols and said to them: "Why did you not come to the temples? Why were you not seen in the town, and why did you not leave your houses?" And they answered and said: "From the day that woman who has with her a child entered the town, the idols were broken up and their temples fell.⁴ When we do our best for them in the night we find them broken up and smashed to pieces in the morning." And they sent for us requesting us⁵ to go to them. When the messengers arrived they found us⁶ in an upper room of the house. Then they seized the man who had invited us to his house and conducted him to the notables of the town, who said to him: "Where are those travellers who halted in your house?" And he answered and said to them: "They left my house three days ago, and I do not know where they went." And they tormented him greatly, but he did not tell them more than "I do not know where they went."

When the owner of the house came to us and informed us of what had happened to him from the chiefs and the priests, we rose up in the morning and left them and went up to the land of Egypt and reached a town called Kuskam in which there was a temple of idols surmounted by an idol on which there were seven veils. The priests of the temple performed the service and did not allow any man to worship there apart from the chiefs of the town; and after these had worshipped, they would present to the idols⁷ the necessary offerings.⁸

When we reached the gate of the town the seven veils were torn

¹ V. "grace."

² M. 48 omits "in their house."

³ M. omits "of those localities."

⁴ V. adds "and were broken up."

⁵ M. omits "requesting us."

⁶ V. "found me."

⁷ Or "to the priests," or "to the veils."

⁸ Lit. "they gave them the useful wealth."

asunder, and the idol fell to the ground and was smashed to pieces. And the demons who were in the idols cried out and said to the priests : " If you do not pursue that woman and the child who is with her, and the old man who is with them¹ and the other woman,² and drive them away, and if you let them enter this town, they will put an end to your service, and we will leave the town. Lo, we have informed you³ before they enter the town." And they scoured the (other) towns of the land of Egyyt and said (to their inhabitants) : " If this woman enters your town all the temples that are in it will fall, the religion of the town will cease, our enemies will rise against us, our town will perish and all this great honour which you see will pass away. Lo, we have informed you of this before it happens." After the idols⁴ had said this they became quiet.

When the priests of the idols, who were a hundred in number, heard this speech of the idols, they pursued us with rods and axes in order to strike at us. They bore evil faces and shouted after us and said : " Where are you going, and what is it you want from us, and what is your aim ? Lo, our gods have informed us of the way you have damaged them.⁵ Go out of this town lest the children should come out and kill you, since you wish to enter the town in order to destroy it." And they uttered to us these and similar words, while they, their women and children and their adults, chased us away.

And I carried my Son on my breast and walked away weeping. My heart was heavy and in pain and trouble because they did not receive us⁶ nor did they want us to stay with them, but insulted us and drove us away. When we went a little distance from their town, my beloved Son turned and cursed the town which is called Kuskam, which is situated on the east side of the northern mountain of the country of Eshmunain, and said thus : " Let its people be in an estate lower than that of all other people, and let them be more lowly and subdued than all the inhabitants of the land of Egypt. Let its earth be cursed so that nothing shall grow in it except alfa and rush-nut, and let its soil lie uncultivated and remain as it was before I⁷ cursed it. Let its chiefs not multiply, but let them succeed one

¹ V. "who accompanies her."

² i.e. Salome, who according to the story accompanied the holy family.

³ V. adds here : "three days."

⁴ V. in singular : "the idol."

⁵ V. "they will hurt you."

⁶ V. "me."

⁷ Lit. "He."

another, one at a time. Let it be more lowly than all the land of Egypt, and let the blessing of my holy virgin mother not fall on the inhabitants of the town."

After He had said this and cursed the town and its inhabitants, we proceeded a short distance south of the town, and sat in a place there on account of the weariness and fatigue of the journey, and partook of a little food. Now there was in the hand of the old¹ Joseph a staff of olive-wood, and my beloved Son seized it with His blessed and holy hand and planted it in that place and said: "Let it be as a benediction of the Lord in this place for ever, and a perpetual memorial of my coming to this place." And it grew up in that hour and gave fruits of olive-trees.

And we wished to proceed on our journey. There were many villages round that place, and Joseph used to stretch his finger and point them out to us, and say: "To which of these villages shall we go and halt? The day has ended and the night has come." And I said to him: "O my father, I have no intention of going² to any of these villages, but take us to this mountain until we see what to do." When I said this he³ walked before us and we went up to the mountain, and it was the time of the setting of the sun.

When we had a short distance left to reach our destination, lo the two brigands whom we had met⁴ before our arrival at Bastah⁵ came to us. They had followed us from place to place, and when they saw us in this deserted and dry mountain they approached us with drawn weapons, hidden faces, and unsheathed swords, and said: "You have exhausted us from fatigue, because we have pursued you for many days and have not found you and have had no opportunity of meeting with you in order to plunder you, except this moment in which you have fallen into our hands. To-day we will strip you of your garments and plunder you." And they dared to lay hands on my beloved Son and snatched Him from my hand and stripped Him of the garment which He was wearing. Then they took my garments also: they even took the veil that was over my head. Afterwards they dared to

¹ M. omits "the old."

² V. "of passing by."

³ M. omits this sentence.

⁴ V. "of whom I spoke to you previously when we met them."

⁵ This Bastah is probably to be identified with the town of Upper Egypt wrongly printed as *Bisha* in *Pat. Orient.*, i. 350. The right spelling of it as *Basta* is given by Wüstenfeld in his *Synaxarium, das is Heiligen Kalender*.

lay hands on my father¹ Joseph and stripped him of his garments while he was standing speechless like a lamb. As to Salome, when she noticed what was taking place she threw her garments to them before they came to her.

When they took our garments they went a short distance away from us, and they began to talk to each other. When I saw them standing and taking counsel, I was greatly alarmed and said to myself : " They will perchance come and kill my Son." And I took Him on my hands, laid my face on His face, wept and said :² " O my beloved Son, Oh that I were in Bethlehem ! Woe is me, O my beloved Son, where shall I go in this place³ and where shall I flee ? I fled with you from Jerusalem fearing that Herod might kill you, but O my Son, O beloved of my soul, would to God⁴ I had remained in my village and had not undergone all this fatigue in vain ! I fear lest people more wicked than Herod should take you from me ! Would that I were in Bethlehem, because they might have recognised the old Joseph who would have implored them not to kill you ! Woe is me, O my beloved Son, because I am a virgin girl, and I do not know anything about all this.

" O light of my eyes, whom do I know in this foreign land and in this desert place ? I know no village nor town.⁵ Where are those who know me, let them come and weep with me to-day ! O my beloved Son, let all the women who bore sons come and see my affliction, the anxieties of my heart, and what befell me to-day ! O my Son, I fled with you from place to place and endured fatigue, but I was rejoicing that no harm had come to you ; these wicked brigands, however, were pursuing me and scouring countries and towns⁶ to find me. What shall I do, O my beloved Son, if I see them wishing to kill you in this place ? Would that they would kill me before killing you in order that I may not see your great affliction ! If they were to kill you here I would kill myself with my own hands, O my beloved Son ! O my beloved Son,⁷ how much shall I miss the sweet words you spoke to me every day ! What shall I do, O light of my eyes and health of my limbs !

¹ V. " His father."

² M. 48 adds : " while weeping bitterly."

³ V. " hour."

⁴ M. " Woe is me."

⁵ V. " villages nor towns."

⁶ M. adds here : " from place to place."

⁷ V. " O light of my eyes."

"Woe shall come on me, when I see other women feeding their children¹ from their breasts. I shall seek those women whose children have been killed by the cruel Herod in order that they may come and weep with me to-day. Would that I were in Jerusalem or in Bethlehem, because there I could have found many women to come and wail with me ! I implore to-day my holy fathers and the prophets to weep with me ! I implore the angel Gabriel who announced to me your conception and your birth² to look at my lamentation over you !³ And would that I were also with Elizabeth my kinswoman and her son John, so that they might see my affliction ! O my Lord, have mercy upon me and upon my exile, and do not neglect my supplication and affliction !"⁴

While I was uttering such words⁵ and lamenting and weeping, my tears came down to my cheeks,⁶ and to the cheeks of my Son.⁷ One of the brigands looked and saw me weeping, and his nerves shook, and he spoke with his companion who was a Jew and said to him : "O my companion, I beseech you to-day not to take the garments of these strangers, because I notice on their faces a light greater than that of all the faces of mankind. This child resembles a Prince the like of whom I have never seen."

And the Jewish brigand said to the Egyptian brigand, his companion : "I will not listen to you this time as I wish to take their garments because they are royal garments which will bring us much wealth for our living."⁸ When he noticed that he was determined to do his wicked will and take the garments, he said to him : "O my brother, we shall steal in the coming night,⁹ and you will take the two portions, mine and yours. Last night we also had a good haul,¹⁰ and you know that I had a good part of it. Let all this be yours, but give me the garments of these strangers as my portion, and I will return them to their owners, because their nakedness has much disturbed me, specially that of this Child." And¹¹ the Jewish brigand said to him : "Take them as part of your portion." And the Egyptian brigand took them as part of his portion and gave them back to us.

¹ M. omits this sentence.

³ V. adds "to-day."

⁵ M. "thinking of such things."

⁷ M. "of the Child."

⁹ V. "We shall steal in Bethlehem."

¹⁰ Lit. "We stole great stealings."

² V. "Conception and birth."

⁴ V. omits all this sentence.

⁶ V. omits "my cheeks."

⁸ V. omits.

¹¹ V. adds : "on saying this."

When we wore our garments¹ and put the garments of my beloved Son on Him, He looked at the brigand and stretched His finger and made the sign of the cross on Him. And the two (brigands) proceeded on their way. And my beloved Son turned and said to me : "O Mary, my holy and virgin mother, the Jews will crucify with me in Jerusalem these two brigands whom you see, and one of them will be on my right hand and the other on my left. The Egyptian will be crucified on my right hand, and the Jew on my left, and the brigand who returned our garments will confess me and believe in me on the Cross, and will first enter Paradise before Adam and all his other children. You see also this spot where they have stripped me of my garments and you have shed your sweet tears over my body : all the sick persons who shall come to it in future and who shall be stripped on it of their garments and be bathed in it,² I shall heal them³ as an honour and (commemoration) of the fact that I had been stripped there of my garments, and your tears had fallen on my body. They will be made whole, and they will return home with joy and gladness."

When He said this the night became slightly darker, and the blessed old Joseph⁴ quarrelled with me and said to me : "I told you that we ought to go to one of these villages before the night came, and you did not listen to me ; now we have reached this desert place, and the night came, and I do not know where to go. If God had not kept us by His grace we would have been killed by these brigands." And my beloved Son smiled in the face of Joseph and said to him : "O father, do not speak harshly to my holy⁵ virgin mother. It is the will of my good Father that I should perform all things dealing with humanity. It is not you who direct me, it is I who direct all the world and conduct you wherever I wish."

After He had said this we came up to this mountain and to this forsaken house into which we entered. I stood in the middle of it and put down my Son from my breast, and it was very dark. When my Son stood on His holy feet on the ground, He stretched His hands

¹ M. "When he gave us our garments."

² Evidently a spring of water had miraculously appeared on the spot where the Virgin's tears had fallen. The incident is not mentioned, but may be presumed.

³ M. omits the reference to healing.

⁴ V. omits "Joseph."

⁵ V. omits "holy."

(and they emitted beams of light) like the sun when it rises, and we thanked God and expressed gratitude to Him for the fact that He had helped us¹ to reach this place, safe from unjust men. We spent the night in the house in great² joy, and blessed God all the night.

At daybreak we discovered a well of water to bath my Son, and also for drinking. We were so pleased that we had found water ! When I carried my Son and brought Him to the well, He stretched His finger and blessed it, and it became full, and water surged up immediately to its mouth. And He opened His holy mouth and blessed the water saying : " Let it be sweet in the mouth of everyone, like the water of the river is to the inhabitants of Egypt, and let it heal all those who bathe in it in true faith."

When we went into the house we sat down, I, my Son, Joseph and Salome. And Salome walked about and found a wash-basin and a water-jug as if they had been placed there for us.³ It was Salome who always bathed my Son, and I gave milk to Him while He was feeding all the world ; but our food used to come from God. On many occasions while I was quiet⁴ and while my breasts were in the mouth of my Son, I used to see angels and heavenly beings standing before⁵ us, genuflecting and worshipping at the holy⁶ feet of my Son while crying out and saying : " Blessed are you, O God, who chose this humility for the salvation of Adam and his children whom you have fashioned with your hands ! Blessed be the first word that came out of the mouth of the Father, the Lord of all ! Honour is due to your virgin mother who endured pain with you at your holy birth ! " At the end of all this we sat and rested from the weariness that overtook us⁷ and the angels used to come constantly and comfort us.

After this Satan appeared to Herod, spoke to him and said to him : " What gain was it to you ? You slew the innocent children of Bethlehem⁸ in order to find Mary⁹ and her Son, and you did not find them. I shall tell you now where and in what locality they are : the woman and her Son are hidden in a desert place of the southern

¹ V. omits : " that He had helped us."

² Here begins Mingana Syr. 5.

³ V. "near."

⁴ V. "me."

⁵ V. "the woman."

² V. omits "great."

⁴ V. omits all this sentence.

⁶ V. omits "holy."

⁸ V. omits "of Bethlehem."

side of the land of Egypt. They live in a forsaken house in which there is no other besides themselves,¹ in the direction which I mentioned to you. Arise and dispatch ten soldiers² of yours to repair to that place and kill them, and you will be confirmed in your kingdom. If you do not listen to me and do what I am telling you, to-morrow this child will grow up and go to Jerusalem, He and His mother, and He will perform numerous and great miracles. The children of Israel will then reject the idols, whose cult will cease. He will also put to shame the priests and the heads of the people, will take your Kingdom from you and will dominate all the people. Lo, I have told you what will happen to you. When your soldiers depart³ to inquire after them, let them proceed as far as the town known as Kuskam and then let them travel to the west side of it as far as the mountain, until they have found them in the place where they are living alone, because they have scoured all the land of Egypt and have not found anybody who would give them hospitality."⁴

When Satan finished his story he disappeared, and Herod became incensed with rage, and he assembled all the chiefs⁵ and elders, and spoke to them and narrated to them what had taken place. And they answered and said: "O our lord, let it be as you wish." And their anger against my beloved⁶ Son persisted till they crucified Him. And Herod made inquiries concerning the majority of the soldiers and selected ten valiant men from amongst them, and gave them information about the place in which we were to be found, and he said to them: "When you shall have found them bring them to me in order that I may kill them with my own hands. If you do what I have ordered you I will give each one of you ten talents⁷ of gold, and you will be great in all my kingdom." When they heard these words from the king they left him in haste and went to do what he had ordered them, and then take the gold which he had promised to them. And they mounted their steeds in order to pursue us.

And there was a man from the children of Israel, of the tribe of Judah and of the family of the Kings, who was related to Joseph.

¹ V. adds here "only."

² V. "men."

³ V. adds "to the land of Egypt."

⁴ V. adds here: "Lo I came and told you what has taken place."

⁵ V. "his chiefs."

⁶ M. 48 omits "beloved."

⁷ V. "minas."

He was from his childhood a valiant man and a giant, and was called Moses. When he heard this news he said to himself : "I shall rise and go to Joseph His father¹ and apprise him of what took place. I shall also take them out of the place in which they are from fear lest these cruel men should discover their whereabouts and kill them. I shall tell them that I have arrived before these men by the power and the help of God."

And God granted him great speed and Divine power, and he came to us in three days, because he travelled in the night more than in the day. He made inquiries² and went to all the places in which we had walked, until he reached this mountain in which we are. And Satan met him in this desert and said to him : "O Moses,³ where are you going alone in this desert?" And Moses narrated to him all that had taken place.⁴ And Satan answered like a frightened man and said to him : "O Moses, you toiled and laboured in vain because lo the soldiers are preceding you and are hastening before you.⁵ If you will listen to me do not go further and toil and exhaust yourself in vain." And Moses⁶ answered the demon :⁷ "Allow me to go now to my country lest the troops of whom you spoke should come and see me here and kill me ; I have nothing left now but to return to my house." Moses said all this with the intention of laughing at the demon and making fun of him. And after Satan had heard these things from Moses he disappeared from his sight.

And Moses directed his course to us in fear, and he came⁸ to us in the morning while Salome was bathing my Son in this house. When the old Joseph saw him he recognised him and rose up to greet him. And Moses answered and said to Joseph : "What are you doing in this locality in ignorance of what took place in these regions,⁹ and of what Herod¹⁰ did and how he killed the children¹¹ of Bethlehem and Jerusalem and how he searched for this child and did not find

¹ V. adds here : "speak to him."

² Both M. omit "he made inquiries."

³ Both M. omit "O Moses."

⁴ V. adds : "from the wicked Herod."

⁵ V. adds here : "Proceed on your journey and inform your people quickly."

⁶ V. the "demon."

⁷ V. omits "the demon."

⁸ V. adds here : "And Satan did this in order to frighten Moses so that he should not inform us. And when Moses heard this from the demon he came."

⁹ V. adds here : "because of this child."

¹⁰ V. adds : "the wicked."

¹¹ V. "all the children."

Him. It has been revealed to him by the demon that you were in this mountain, and thereupon he has dispatched ten of his soldiers to come and kill you here, and lo they have arrived in this locality a long time ago. When I heard this I came to you in order to acquaint you with the facts."

When I¹ heard this my knees shook and I took my Son from Salome and climbed to the upper chamber which had windows. I sat in the northern window which looks upon the road and I wailed and said: "Woe is me, O my beloved Son! If they came and killed you² the fatigue which I have endured with you down to this day will have been in vain. Woe is me, O my beloved Son, because the one who brought this intelligence to me to-day resembles the messenger³ who came to Job in his time and said to him: 'Your ten sons have died.'⁴ Woe is me, O my beloved Son, because fear has taken possession of me, and I have no strength to rise up! Woe is me, O my beloved Son, because of this evil news which has reached me!

"Woe is me, O light of my eyes! What shall I do when I see the soldiers of the wicked Herod coming here and snatching you from my hands?⁵ What shall I do, O my beloved Son, when I see you in their hands,⁶ and they will not let me come near you? Woe is me, O my beloved Son! If I had known this before I would have fled to dry mountains from these persecutors so that perchance I might have been saved. I have left my country and all other countries and have come to this place. O my beloved Son, lift up your eyes and look at your lonely and wretched mother, and see the anguish that is in my heart.⁷ I have no power of thought, and lo I became to-day like the other women whose sons have been killed by Herod.⁸

"O my Son! Let sun, moon and stars weep with me to-day. Let them weep over my wretchedness and exile. I implore the prophet David to come and weep with me because I have looked for some one to lament with me⁹ and have not found any. I pray my Father Jacob, who wept over Joseph,¹⁰ to come and witness my anguish and the sadness of my heart,¹¹ because my Son is an only child, and I

¹ Both M. "I Mary."

³ Both M. omit "messenger."

⁵ Both M. omit "from my hands."

⁷ V. adds here: "O my Son."

⁹ M. 48 omits this sentence, but V. and M. 5 have it.

¹⁰ V. adds "his son."

² V. adds: "unjustly."

⁴ V. omits all this sentence.

⁶ V. omits this sentence.

⁸ V. adds here: "the accursed."

¹¹ Both M. omit "of my heart."

have no other one besides Him, and cruel men wish to kill Him. I implore Jeremiah to-day to come, wail, lament¹ and weep with me because I am in a strange country and I do not know what to do. I have no knowledge of any town or any village. Would to God they had left me alone in this loneliness! The tears that are in my eyes have dried up and I do not know what to do."²

While I was lamenting in this way and contemplating the pure body of my Son, He said to me: "O my holy mother, receive power from me and be not afraid. You have wept and lamented enough, for your weeping, your lamentation and your wailing have reached my heart. May the will of my Father be done! Let us go down to the old Joseph and to Salome and see what we ought to do." When He uttered to me these words my heart was strengthened and we came down;³ and He spoke to Joseph and said: "O father, be of good cheer." And He turned to the man⁴ whose name was Moses and said to him: "You came to us in order to inform us. Your coming and your trouble will be rewarded, but because of the fear which has been caused by you to my mother, take hold of this stone on which I was bathed and put it under your head, sleep,⁵ and rest a short while, and I shall place your soul with Abraham, Isaac and Jacob until I have delivered Adam and his⁶ posterity; and then I shall bring you to my Kingdom." And he took the stone and placed it under his head, and turning his head towards the east he gave up the ghost.⁷ The old Joseph buried his body and interred it in this house under the threshold towards the interior. And his memory survives down to this day.

After this we lived several days in this house, until we completed six⁸ months in it. The first day we came to it was the sixth of Barmūdah⁹ and the day we left it was the sixth of Babah.¹⁰ And the

¹ V. omits "wail and lament."

² There are many points of resemblance between the lamentations of the Virgin used in the present apocryphon and those used in the *Lament of the Virgin* which I edited and translated in *Woodbrooke Studies*, ii. 184-186, 196-199, etc.

³ V. omits "and we came down."

⁴ M. 48 omits "to the man."

⁵ V. omits "sleep."

⁶ V. "all his."

⁷ Both M. add here "and he died."

⁸ Both M. have "two."

⁹ V. and M. 48 add here on the margin: "i.e. April." The Coptic month of Barmūdah corresponds with 27th March to 25th April of our Calendar. V. omits here the words "the sixth of."

¹⁰ The Coptic month of Babah corresponds with 28th Sept. to 27th Oct. of our Calendar.

number of all the days which we spent in it while we were fleeing from the accursed Herod—from the day in which we went out of Bethlehem and came to this mountain of Kuskam to the day in which we returned to our town which is Nazareth—is three years and six months.

While the old Joseph was asleep, lo the angel of the Lord appeared to him in a dream and said to him : “O Joseph, son of David, arise and take the Child and His mother, because Herod has died a grievous and painful death. Arise thou and go into the land of Israel.¹ The soldiers which he had despatched after the Child have all died on the way and gone to hell. Be not afraid, the Lord is with you.”

In the morning (Joseph) narrated to us what he had seen in his night dream, and we were greatly pleased and we prepared to set out. And I spoke² to my beloved Son and said to Him : “I beseech you, O my beloved Son, to grant honour and esteem to this house which gave us shelter in our exile and in which we lived.” And He opened His holy mouth and blessed the house and said : “Let the benediction of My good Father remain in this house for ever. This house which you see, O my holy mother, will have in it a sanctuary dedicated to God, and people will offer sacrifices³ and ex-votos in it to the Lord, and those who will offer them will be the faithful of the orthodox faith⁴ till the day of my (second) coming. It will have a lamp which will burn in the middle of it for ever.⁵

“All those who come to this house with faith and worship and pray therein shall be blessed, and I will forgive all their sins, if they (intend not to) revert to them, and I will count them among the saints. If any of those who are in distress, trouble or loss⁶ come to this holy place and worship and pray in it, and demand congruous things, I will grant their requests and all their demands.

“If the one who comes be a husbandman, I will bless his crops, and if he be a shepherd I will bless his flocks, and if he be a clerk I will bless his pen. If any of those who are versed in any craft come and pray in this house⁷ I will bless their craft. If any of those who are affected with a disease of any kind whatsoever come and pray in

¹ Cf. Matt. ii. 19-20.

² Both M. omit “I spoke.”

³ Both M. “always.”

⁷ M. 5 : “in this holy house.”

² Both M. omit “And I spoke.”

⁴ The author was a Monophysite.

⁶ V. omits “trouble or loss.”

this holy house,¹ I will heal all their bodies. If any of those who are in trouble or anguish on account of children who have died, or on account of beasts or of robbers or of kings, remember this holy² house in which we are, and pray to me and to my good and compassionate Father who is in Heaven, I will deliver them from all their trials and troubles.

"O Mary, my mother, this house in which we are will contain holy monks on whom no ruler of this world shall be able to inflict any injury, because it became a refuge to us. And any barren woman who beseeches me with a pure heart and remembers this house,³ I will give her sons. All the people who come to this place with ex-votos and offerings for your holy name, I will inscribe my name⁴ on their offerings and on their sacrifices as it happened to Abel in his days when he offered a sacrifice before me. I have anathematised this town which did not receive us in our exile and blessed all the villages that surround it. Let my blessing⁵ and my protection be on their inhabitants, on their children, on their property, on their land and all that which they possess. Let no one who hates my name ever inhabit them, because you dwelt in this place.

"There will be⁶ in this place a blessed⁷ congregation who will remember and bless⁸ my name, and pray to me at all times, and so gain strength against all their adversaries. As to this house nothing shall be demolished from it nor shall any thing be added to it. I tell you now that if any chief or ruler should from this time inflict any harm on it, I will put him to shame and confusion for all time, because I inhabited it and the angels provided for us in it, since I did not find any earthly food in it.

"I will place in it my blessing and the protection of my Father for ever and ever. Any one who comes to this place and honours my name and your name, his house will be full of all good things. Those women in travail who will remember me and remember the fatigue that you endured with me, I will hear their prayers and they shall be relieved. O my holy virgin mother, their will be sanctuaries built under your name and my name in those places in which you have

¹ M. 5 omits all this sentence.

³ M. 48: "this holy house."

⁵ V. "the blessing of my Father."

⁷ "joyful."

² V. omits "holy."

⁴ M. 48: "your name."

⁶ Or "let there be."

⁸ Here begins a first lacuna in V.

halted. And my blessing and the protection of my Father will dwell in this house for ever and ever, Amen." And we said : "Amen."

After my Son had spoken thus we rose up and descended from the mountain. We reached the town of Eshmunain and its inhabitants received us with great joy and jubilation. When morning came I carried my Son on my arms, and we came to the sea, where we looked for a ship but found none ready. Then my beloved Son made the sign of the Cross on the water and it became like a ship before us. We then went on board and we arrived at Nazareth and gave thanks to God. He appeared also several times after His ascent to Heaven.¹

One day I was in the house of Mary, mother of John, who was afterwards called Mark the Evangelist.² It is he who came to the land of Egypt, the inhabitants of which believed through him, when he announced to them the Kingdom of God. It is the one whose inheritance and office you took, O Theophilus. The Apostles were also there, and they alluded to the wickedness done by Judas to my beloved Son, the true Son of God. And I answered and said to them while weeping bitterly : "O my brethren and beloved of my Son, I testify to you that from the day of my annunciation by the angel Gabriel down to this hour, I have wept because of the cruel thing that the Jews did to me and to my Son when they slapped my face on account of my conception and the birth of my Child."

And Peter answered and said to me : "O Lady of all of us, we implore you to reveal to us your trials, so that we may hear them, and so that when we go and preach the Kingdom of Heaven to mankind we may remember you and narrate all that happened to you." And I began to narrate³ to them what happened to me from the day I went to Elizabeth, and how my Son was born in a place⁴ while I was alone, and what happened in my journey to the land of Egypt, and my coming to this desert place, and the injustice done to us⁵ by the accursed Herod. When I narrated this while weeping to all the Apostles, there were present with me Mary Magdalene, Hannah and Salome.

¹ Something seems to be missing here, as the sequence of the story appears to be broken.

² M. 5 omits "the evangelist."

³ M. 5 omits "in a place."

⁴ M. 48 omits all this sentence.

⁵ M. 5 "to me."

In that hour my Lord and my Son revealed Himself to me in a sitting posture, while the Seraphim, Gabriel and Michael and innumerable ¹ angels were glorifying Him. And He ² stood in the middle and said to us : "Peace be with all of you." And we rose up immediately and worshipped at His feet.³ And my Son turned to me and said to me : "O my holy virgin ⁴ mother, why are you in tears and anguish ? Lo I have prepared for you in heaven joy and gladness which have no end.⁵ Do not weep and lament because of (my) death ; you should rather rejoice at my resurrection from the dead because I have saved the world—you who walked with me in foreign countries ⁶ and in a forsaken desert,⁷ as far as this forsaken place which I will bless with my holy hands before any other Church is dedicated to my name."

In that hour He commanded a luminous cloud which came down ⁸ and carried us all and placed us in this holy house, O Theophilus, and it was the third hour of the day, which was the sixth of the month of Hatūr,⁹ which corresponds with the second day of October.

When the Apostles were ready for the consecration (of the Church), Gabriel and Michael carried the vessel containing the water which my beloved Son sprinkled on the Church. I and the twelve Apostles were present at the consecration of this house ; and Mary Magdalene and Salome were also present ; and there was no church built in the world before it. And this Church was consecrated by our Saviour Jesus Christ before the Apostles went out to preach the Gospel of the Kingdom of God. At the time of the consecration He uttered the following words : "The hands that have fashioned you, O Adam, have consecrated this house, and the hands ¹⁰ in which nails have been driven on the Golgotha,¹¹ have blessed ¹² this house. Amen. Amen."¹³ And we all answered and said : "Amen."

¹ Here ends the first lacuna of V.

³ Both M. "at the feet of my Son."

⁵ Both M. add "for ever."

⁷ V. "forsaken deserts."

⁹ The coptic month of Hatūr corresponds with the 28th Oct. to 26th Nov. of our Calendar. In the Calendar of Abu'l Barakāt (in *Pat. Orient.*, x. 258) the sixth of Hatūr is marked as the commemoration of the day of the reunion of the Apostles with the Lord. This is also found in the Arabic Jacobite Synaxarium printed in *Pat. Orient.*, iii. 255. See the *Prefatory Note*.

¹⁰ V. omits all this sentence.

¹² Both M. "have consecrated."

² Both M. "and they."

⁴ V. omits "virgin."

⁶ V. "In a foreign country."

⁸ V. adds "over all of us."

¹¹ V. omits Golgotha.

¹³ Both M. omit "Amen."

Afterwards we found vestments ready along with the ritual¹ used by the Church.² When everything was ready³ He ordered Peter to celebrate the Mass, and then the Holy Spirit came down. He then commanded⁴ the Apostles to remember their parents who had passed away, and He ordered also in that hour the souls of their parents who had departed to come and enter the sanctuary ; and they came at that moment in the form in which they were with us in the flesh, and He baptised them with the water that had remained from the consecration of the Church ; and He gave (His) holy⁵ Body and ordered them to say the Mass and to remember at the moment of the offering of the sacrifice upon the holy altars⁶ their parents who had passed away.⁷ And our Lord fortified them, comforted them, and gave them peace.

In that very moment a large bird flew from heaven and came down carrying with it all good things in matter of wines and delicacies. And it came down⁸ in the centre of the Church and we took from it what we wanted.

The angels stood then above our heads like deacons, and the apostles were joyful and glad because they had seen their parents and because of the glory and majesty of that hour. And our Saviour spoke with them and said to them : " Let this day be a remembrance to you for ever. And I will command that a church be built⁹ under your name on this mountain." And the Apostles answered and said to Him : " Glory be to you ; and honour, worship, power and omnipotence belong to you because you have exalted us above all the creation." And a cloud took us again¹⁰ and placed us at sunset in the house in which we were previously in Jerusalem. We came back to Jerusalem on the same day we had left it.

This is what you asked me to tell you, O¹¹ Theophilus. I told

¹ The Greek word *τάξεις*, which may also refer to "canonicals."

² V. "That we may use them in the Church."

³ Lit. "When they were ready."

⁴ Both M. omit all this sentence.

⁵ V. "from the holy."

⁶ M. 48 omits "altars."

⁷ See in the *Prefatory Note* the quotation from the Arabic Jacobite Synaxarium printed in *Pat. Orient.*, iii. 255, to the effect that the first Mass to be celebrated was at Kuskam where also, according to our document, the first church was consecrated in the world.

⁸ V. "fell down."

⁹ V. "that they should build a Church."

¹⁰ Both M. omit "again."

¹¹ Both M. add here "holy."

you all at this moment. Tell to all the world what I have narrated to you and what has happened to us, and write it down to us as a memorial for ever and ever. Arise now and offer sacrifice for the monks and for all the people who have congregated here to-day, because I will bless them before I go, as this day is the day of my Commemoration and of my leaving of the body.¹ As to you be of good cheer because in your remaining days² no harm and no anguish will befall you, and no evil of any kind will affect this church in your time."

This story was told to me and these words were uttered to me Theophilus the servant of Christ and your servant, O my brethren and my beloved. I have narrated to-day to your love what the holy Virgin Mary mother of God³ narrated to me, O you all who believe in Christ. God knows that I have not added anything to, nor taken away anything from, what our Lady Mary, mother of God,⁴ said to me, and what I heard from her. As to you listen to it,⁵ believe in it and let your heart be not in doubt.

And I Theophilus answered and said to our Lady : "Blessed are you among women,⁶ O our Lady Mary, mother of God. We came to-day⁷ and rejoiced at the sweetness of your words which are like honeycomb and like the wine that maketh glad the heart of man."⁸ We have acknowledged the honour and glory of this holy house⁹ from the fact that the Lord of this world and His holy virgin mother dwelt in it.

O my beloved, none of those who intend to go back to their sins should enter this holy house,¹⁰ because our Lord Jesus Christ and His holy virgin mother dwelt in it, and because all the hierarchies of the holy angels observe this day as a feast in purity and holiness. No thief and no one who is under the influence of sin should enter this house, because Paul says : "Neither those who commit sins, nor the fornicators, nor the publicans, nor the idolators, nor those who

¹ i.e. "of my death."

² Both M. omit all this sentence.

³ V. "to what I told your love."

⁴ V. omits "to-day."

⁵ V. adds here "O my beloved."

⁶ Both M. "We ought to cleanse our bodies of all sins before entering this holy house."

⁷ Both M. omit this sentence.

⁸ V. omits "mother of God."

⁹ Cf. Luke i. 42.

¹⁰ Ps. civ. 15.

perpetrate other crimes shall inherit the Kingdom of God.”¹ We ought also to remember that we shall leave our bodies and go to God our Lord, and that we shall rise again in that place of truth,² where we shall answer for all that we have done whether it be good or bad.³

We should also refrain our souls from theft, our bodies from fornication, and our eyes from evil sights, diabolical passion and covetousness.⁴ We should also refrain our tongues from all⁵ bad and impure curses, from oath and from all evil things which bring no honour but dishonour. We should also refrain our soul from hatred and false witness. Let us extirpate from our hearts these and similar things, because it is they that lead men to hell, the fire of which is not quenched. Let us purify our bodies from sin and then partake of the body of our Lord Jesus Christ for the forgiveness of our sins, and be worthy of the blessings of our holy Lady Mary, the mother of God, and observe her feast to-day.⁶

What good can a fornicator⁷ derive and what gain can accrue to him if he comes to the holy Mary, the mother of the King of Kings, and enters her holy house, while he does not repent of his iniquity? And what utility can an adulteress derive from entering this holy house in order to be worthy of the one who brought forth the Christ, unless she confesses her sins? She will then pray and implore her Son and her Lord on our behalf, because she is full of mercy. We ought also to carry our offerings and bring our ex-votos with a pure heart, and then stretch our hands to her holy Son and ask for His body and His innocent blood.

Blessed be he who comes to this house, because he will meet with good things in this world, and when he leaves this earthly body he will go to the Kingdom of Heaven! Woe to the one who commits a sin in this house because God will be angry with him as He was with Herod. Blessed be he who hears and believes and does not entertain any doubt concerning you, O our Lord Jesus Christ! Blessed be the one who sees this holy house, because the Lord will place him in the bosom of our father Abraham, and will answer his

¹ 1 Cor. vi. 9-10 (with changes). Both M. omit this Pauline quotation.

² The valley of Jehoshaphat?

³ 2 Cor. v. 10.

⁴ Cf. Col. iii. 5.

⁵ Both M. omit “all,” cf. 1 Pet. iii. 10.

⁶ V. “and of her feast to-day.”

⁷ Here begins a second lacuna in V. and it continues till the end.

prayers in this world through the good works that he will do ! Woe to the one who vows something to this house and refuses to acknowledge his vow and does not fulfil it. The Holy Spirit will be far from such a one.

Were it not that I see the greatness of the number of the people (assembled here) and their joy on the occasion of this high feast, I would have told many more miracles in order to exalt this holy house. This house is the beginning of the forgiveness of sins. This house is all of it benediction, and anyone who enters into it shall be blessed by God and by His mother, the holy Virgin. This (house) is the tryst of the Lord, of His angels, of His Apostles, and of the heavenly hierarchies, and were it not for the fact that I am entrusted with the care of the diocese and the congregation of Orthodoxy, I would not have left this place, till the day of my death ; God, however, will count to me ¹ what I had intended to do.

May God bless the young and the old (among you), and may He grant to you the good reward of your labours in coming to this place from far and near ! May He bless your fields and hold your believing kings in His keeping ! May He lay your enemies under your feet, and sow peace and concord in the churches and in the monasteries all the days of your life, in order that you may observe this day with joy and partake of the body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ ! May He forgive your old sins and place His fear in your hearts, in order that you may be consecrated to-day to Him ! May you be in His keeping in order that you may reach your homes in the peace ² of God ! Amen.

May He grant the blessings of this holy house to you and to anyone who sets foot in this place, which is the place in which dwelt our Lord Jesus Christ and His holy mother ! And as He granted you to assemble and congregate in this holy house, He is able to make you worthy of assembling together ³ in His Kingdom with His saints.

And I Cyril ⁴ was with my Father, the Patriarch Theophilus, and heard from his holy mouth this story which I have written down.

¹ Lit. "will do."

² M. 5 : "in the name."

³ M. 5 omits this sentence.

⁴ From a reference found in an Arabic Jacobite Synaxarium (*Pat. Orient.*, iii. 255), and from the fact that the author uses the expression "I Cyril was

When the people heard this discourse they rejoiced greatly and raised their voices and glorified God with a high and loud voice.

Glory be to the Holy Trinity, Father, Son and Holy Spirit, now, always and for ever and ever. Amen.

Here ends the third book of (i.e. containing) the vision of the Holy¹ Theophilus, Patriarch of Alexandria. May his prayer be with us. Amen.

with my Father the Patriarch Theophilus and heard from his holy mouth," I have conjectured that this Cyril is St. Cyril of Alexandria who succeeded Theophilus in 412. See the *Prefatory Note*. I do not believe that this Cyril is Cyril of Jerusalem, in spite of the fact that he is given in Coptic literature as the author of a discourse on the Assumption of the Virgin (in Budge's *Misc. Copt. Texts*). My collection of MSS. contains also Garshūni discourses on this subject by Cyril of Jerusalem.

¹ M. 5 omits "holy."

[illegible]

¹ So V. ² *حسبنا بقوله*. ³ Adds *مرفعا*. ⁴ Omits.

⁵ ممر. ⁶ Adds ح. ⁷ Omits. ⁸ Adds ح. ⁹ ممر.

¹⁰ مَعْلَمٌ مَحْتَمَلٌ. ¹¹ حَسْبُكَ هَذَا. ¹² Omits. ¹³ Adds هَذَا.

١٥) امان: حلالا ١٤) . بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم اللهم صل على محمد و

۱۶ حمدون . ۱۷ ۱۸

[illegible]

¹ Adds **مَعَهُ بِحَمْدِهِ الْحَمْدُ**.

٥. يفتل. ١. يفتل. ٣ Omits. ٢. المفعول من المفعول.

⁶ Adds Lf. ⁷ So V.

1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20.

1. 2. Adds 3. 4. Omits.

5. 6. Omits. 7. 8. Adds 9. Adds 10. Omits. 11. Adds 12. Adds

13. Adds 14. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. Sing. 20. 21. 22. 23. 24. 25. 26. 27. 28. 29. 30. 31. 32. 33. 34. 35. 36. 37. 38. 39. 40. 41. 42. 43. 44. 45. 46. 47. 48. 49. 50. 51. 52. 53. 54. 55. 56. 57. 58. 59. 60. 61. 62. 63. 64. 65. 66. 67. 68. 69. 70. 71. 72. 73. 74. 75. 76. 77. 78. 79. 80. 81. 82. 83. 84. 85. 86. 87. 88. 89. 90. 91. 92. 93. 94. 95. 96. 97. 98. 99. 100.

14. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. Sing. 20. 21. 22. 23. 24. 25. 26. 27. 28. 29. 30. 31. 32. 33. 34. 35. 36. 37. 38. 39. 40. 41. 42. 43. 44. 45. 46. 47. 48. 49. 50. 51. 52. 53. 54. 55. 56. 57. 58. 59. 60. 61. 62. 63. 64. 65. 66. 67. 68. 69. 70. 71. 72. 73. 74. 75. 76. 77. 78. 79. 80. 81. 82. 83. 84. 85. 86. 87. 88. 89. 90. 91. 92. 93. 94. 95. 96. 97. 98. 99. 100.

17. 18. 19. Sing. 20. 21. 22. 23. 24. 25. 26. 27. 28. 29. 30. 31. 32. 33. 34. 35. 36. 37. 38. 39. 40. 41. 42. 43. 44. 45. 46. 47. 48. 49. 50. 51. 52. 53. 54. 55. 56. 57. 58. 59. 60. 61. 62. 63. 64. 65. 66. 67. 68. 69. 70. 71. 72. 73. 74. 75. 76. 77. 78. 79. 80. 81. 82. 83. 84. 85. 86. 87. 88. 89. 90. 91. 92. 93. 94. 95. 96. 97. 98. 99. 100.

ואחרי [אחרי משה¹] מבר בארץ ארץ חמשה. ואלו
 ארבעה מבר בשנה חשב בארץ ארץ [וארץ²] ארץ
 ארץ חשב³ ואלו מבר ארץ ארץ ארץ ארץ ארץ
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¹ Inverts the order. ² בארץ. ³ Adds ארץ. ⁴ ארץ.

⁵ Adds ארץ. ⁶ ארץ. ⁷ ארץ. ⁸ Adds ארץ.

⁹ ארץ. ¹⁰ Removes the dalath and stat. const. ¹¹ Adds ארץ.

¹² ארץ. ¹³ Adds ארץ. ¹⁴ ארץ.

חַלְמָא מִבְּיַד חֲסִידָא דְּמַרְדּוּכָא. וְהַלְלָא חֲסִיד חַלְמָא
 מִבְּיַד מַלְכָא דְּכֹהֵן מִזְמֵר וְאִמְרָא חַב עֲמֵר לֹא יִשְׁלֹא
 לְאִפְסִידָא [חֲסִידָא]¹ וְחֲסִידָא מִלְכָּא חֲסִידָא חֲסִידָא
 לְאִפְסִידָא עֲמֵר וְאִשְׁלֹא מִסֵּו; מִסֵּו. [אִלָּא]² אִלָּא³ אִמְרָא
 [וְחִיָּא]⁴ מִסֵּו מִסֵּו [חֲסִידָא]⁵ וְחֲסִידָא מִסֵּו; וְאִלָּא
 עֲמֵר לֹא יִשְׁלֹא מִסֵּו; וְאִלָּא מִסֵּו. מִסֵּו; חֲסִידָא [חֲסִידָא]
 אִלָּא⁶ חֲסִידָא. אִלָּא [אִמְרָא אִלָּא]⁷ וְאִשְׁלֹא מִסֵּו; לְאִתְּ
 מִסֵּו; מִסֵּו; חֲסִידָא [חֲסִידָא]⁸.

אִלָּא אִלָּא מִזְמֵר [חֲסִידָא מִסֵּו]⁹ וְאִמְרָא¹⁰ מִסֵּו; חֲסִידָא
 מִסֵּו; וְאִלָּא חֲסִידָא. אִלָּא אִלָּא חֲסִידָא. חֲסִידָא
 מִסֵּו; וְאִלָּא מִסֵּו; אִלָּא חֲסִידָא [וְאִלָּא חֲסִידָא]¹¹ מִסֵּו; חֲסִידָא
 מִסֵּו; חֲסִידָא מִסֵּו; חֲסִידָא מִסֵּו; חֲסִידָא [חֲסִידָא]¹² מִסֵּו;
 אִלָּא מִסֵּו; חֲסִידָא מִסֵּו; חֲסִידָא. מִסֵּו; חֲסִידָא [חֲסִידָא]¹³
 חֲסִידָא [חֲסִידָא]¹⁴ וְאִלָּא חֲסִידָא מִסֵּו; חֲסִידָא (sic)
 חֲסִידָא [חֲסִידָא]¹⁵. וְאִלָּא מִסֵּו; חֲסִידָא אִלָּא חֲסִידָא מִסֵּו;
 מִסֵּו; חֲסִידָא מִסֵּו; חֲסִידָא מִסֵּו; חֲסִידָא מִסֵּו; חֲסִידָא
 וְאִלָּא מִסֵּו; חֲסִידָא מִסֵּו; חֲסִידָא מִסֵּו; חֲסִידָא מִסֵּו;
 חֲסִידָא חֲסִידָא מִסֵּו; חֲסִידָא [מִסֵּו; חֲסִידָא]¹⁶ חֲסִידָא
 מִסֵּו; חֲסִידָא [חֲסִידָא]¹⁷ חֲסִידָא מִסֵּו; חֲסִידָא מִסֵּו;
 חֲסִידָא מִסֵּו; חֲסִידָא מִסֵּו; חֲסִידָא מִסֵּו; חֲסִידָא מִסֵּו;

⁴ Omits. ³ Adds מִסֵּו. ² וְאִלָּא. ¹ חֲסִידָא מִסֵּו; חֲסִידָא.

חֲסִידָא מִסֵּו; חֲסִידָא. ⁸ Inverts the order. ⁷ אִלָּא מִסֵּו; חֲסִידָא. ⁶ מִסֵּו; חֲסִידָא.

⁹ וְאִלָּא מִסֵּו; חֲסִידָא. ¹⁰ Adds מִסֵּו; חֲסִידָא. ¹¹ חֲסִידָא מִסֵּו; חֲסִידָא.

אִלָּא. ¹⁶ חֲסִידָא. ¹⁵ חֲסִידָא. ¹⁴ חֲסִידָא. ¹³ חֲסִידָא. ¹² חֲסִידָא.

מִסֵּו; חֲסִידָא. ¹⁷ Omits. ¹⁸ חֲסִידָא מִסֵּו; חֲסִידָא.

مصححاً له. محذوف. اف. حب. فم. مح. لوت.
 [ما. متا¹] ما. او. او. او. او. [اف. متا²] ما.
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 [حب. متا¹⁸] ما. متا. متا. متا. متا. متا. متا. متا. متا. متا.
 [حب. متا¹⁹] ما. متا. متا. متا. متا. متا. متا. متا. متا. متا.

¹ Omits. ² اعصم. ³ عقم. ⁴ حزب. ⁵ مودع

⁸ Omits. ج. معده ٥ ارباب⁷. مللم⁶. مللا محتل.

⁹ Adds **حَقِيقَتَا**. ¹⁰ **وَمِنْهُمْ** **مُؤْمِنٌ** **وَمِنْهُمْ** **كَاذِبٌ**. ¹¹ Omits. ¹² Adds





13 **مِنْ** احْدَا. 14 Inverts the order. 15 **يَا**.

¹⁶ Omits. ¹⁷ سلا. ¹⁸ Omits. ¹⁹ Inverts the order.










[illegible]

٥٠٨٧. ٦. هم بعد. ٥. سمعني. ٧. لا حلا

﴿ حمدوه مديهم ﴾ حبس ١٢ . ١١ . رحمتهم امين .

¹³ Omits. ¹⁴ Adds . ¹⁵ . ¹⁶ . ¹⁷ .

[illegible][illegible]

¹ Adds ; ² Omits. ³                     

٥ Omits. ٦ Inverts
the order. ٧ اى محله. ٨ هم محله هـ اى محله. ٩ مـ

¹⁰ ܡܚܕܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ. ¹¹ ܡܠܟܐ. ¹² Omits. ¹³ Omits. ¹⁴ ܡܠܟܐ.

¹⁵ .بَلْعَمَتِ مَرَر رَحِمَ . ¹⁶ Adds fca . ¹⁷ حَتَّ عَدَا .

¹⁸ Adds ⲉⲃⲁⲛⲟ. ¹⁹ Adds ⲉⲃⲁ. ²⁰ ⲛⲉⲃⲁ.

[illegible]

١] لا [نفي] (sic) ² إلا من حله؛ من يهوى. ماله
حرما من هذا؛ من يهوى. ماله؛ من يهوى
لا ماله؛ من يهوى؛ من يهوى.

[illegible]

١. ٥. ٦. ٧. ٨. ٩. ١٠. ١١. ١٢. ١٣. ١٤. ١٥. ١٦. ١٧. ١٨. ١٩. ٢٠. ٢١. ٢٢. ٢٣. ٢٤. ٢٥. ٢٦. ٢٧. ٢٨. ٢٩. ٣٠. ٣١. ٣٢. ٣٣. ٣٤. ٣٥. ٣٦. ٣٧. ٣٨. ٣٩. ٤٠. ٤١. ٤٢. ٤٣. ٤٤. ٤٥. ٤٦. ٤٧. ٤٨. ٤٩. ٥٠. ٥١. ٥٢. ٥٣. ٥٤. ٥٥. ٥٦. ٥٧. ٥٨. ٥٩. ٦٠. ٦١. ٦٢. ٦٣. ٦٤. ٦٥. ٦٦. ٦٧. ٦٨. ٦٩. ٧٠. ٧١. ٧٢. ٧٣. ٧٤. ٧٥. ٧٦. ٧٧. ٧٨. ٧٩. ٨٠. ٨١. ٨٢. ٨٣. ٨٤. ٨٥. ٨٦. ٨٧. ٨٨. ٨٩. ٩٠. ٩١. ٩٢. ٩٣. ٩٤. ٩٥. ٩٦. ٩٧. ٩٨. ٩٩. ١٠٠.

⁴ مح. ⁵ Adds هذا. ⁶ مح. ربا. ⁷ Masculine.

⁹ .مدا لسا ب حمدا الحکم اءا وءا⁸. (*sic*) حمدا وءا⁸.

¹⁰ Omits. ¹¹ *هذه هي اياتي*. ¹² Omits. ¹³ Omits.

14 Adds **هم**. 15 **وإحدى الغنم** **منهم**. 16 **أمنها** **منهم**.

17 Adds **م**. 18 Adds **و**. 19 **و**

[illegible]

اھلئتا اے [۱] ۱۰۰۰ مہم مدارا اھلئتا
 ۱۰۰۰ مہم [۲] ۱۰۰۰ مہم مدارا اھلئتا
 ۳ سارا ۱۰۰۰ مہم مدارا اھلئتا
 ۴ مہم مدارا ۱۰۰۰ مہم مدارا [۵] مہم مدارا
 ۶ مہم مدارا ۱۰۰۰ مہم مدارا [۷] مہم مدارا
 [۸] مہم مدارا ۱۰۰۰ مہم مدارا [۹] مہم مدارا
 ۱۰ مہم مدارا ۱۰۰۰ مہم مدارا [۱۱] مہم مدارا
 ۱۲ مہم مدارا ۱۰۰۰ مہم مدارا [۱۳] مہم مدارا
 ۱۴ مہم مدارا ۱۰۰۰ مہم مدارا [۱۵] مہم مدارا
 ۱۶ مہم مدارا ۱۰۰۰ مہم مدارا [۱۷] مہم مدارا
 ۱۸ مہم مدارا ۱۰۰۰ مہم مدارا [۱۹] مہم مدارا
 ۲۰ مہم مدارا ۱۰۰۰ مہم مدارا [۲۱] مہم مدارا
 ۲۲ مہم مدارا ۱۰۰۰ مہم مدارا [۲۳] مہم مدارا
 ۲۴ مہم مدارا ۱۰۰۰ مہم مدارا [۲۵] مہم مدارا

۱ Inverts the order. ۲ Adds. ۳ Adds. ۴ Adds. ۵ Adds. ۶ Adds. ۷ Adds. ۸ Adds. ۹ Adds. ۱۰ Adds. ۱۱ Adds. ۱۲ Adds. ۱۳ Adds. ۱۴ Adds. ۱۵ Adds. ۱۶ Adds. ۱۷ Adds. ۱۸ Adds. ۱۹ Adds. ۲۰ Adds. ۲۱ Adds. ۲۲ Adds. ۲۳ Adds. ۲۴ Adds. ۲۵ Adds.

¹ Adds حزب. ² Omits. ³ عدا. ⁴ من ابناءهم.

Vat. ⁹ ܡܠܟܐ . ¹⁰ ܡܡܬܐ . ¹¹ ܡܡܬܐ . ¹² ܡܠܐ .

13. 14. 15. 16. and inverts
the order. 17. 18. .

[illegible]

[سجہ سے ہے مذاکرہ] ¹¹ بے مصلحتی سے لکھا ہے کہ
 سب سے پہلے۔ سب سے پہلے سب سے پہلے سب سے پہلے
 سب سے پہلے سب سے پہلے سب سے پہلے سب سے پہلے
 سب سے پہلے سب سے پہلے سب سے پہلے سب سے پہلے ¹²
 سب سے پہلے سب سے پہلے سب سے پہلے سب سے پہلے ¹³
 سب سے پہلے سب سے پہلے سب سے پہلے سب سے پہلے ¹⁴

¹ Adds **هو**. ² **محمدي**. ³ **حيوه**. ⁴ Adds

اولمى او است امدن ده مه حله لسم⁶ ⁵ Omits. .؟

⁷ *with slight verbal differences*

in the next sentence, ⁸ Adds (يعا). ⁹ المختار، محقق.

١٢. اَمَدَاتَا . ١١. اَمَدَا اَمَدَاتَا . ١٠. اَمَدَا اَمَدَا اَمَدَا

13 Adds لاقى. 14 Adds فاهل.

[illegible]

17 M. omits.

۱۵۱ سرما [۱] املقا ملاحقا عمتا م ممم
 [مبم] [۲] ممت ممت ممت ممت [مبتعا] [۳] ممت
 [ممت] [۴] ممت. ممتا ممت [۵] [۱] ممت ممت
 ممت ممت ممت ممت ممت ممت ممت ممت.
 ممت ممت ممت ممت ممت ممت ممت ممت ممت
 ممت ممت. امما [لامر] [۶] ممت ممت ممت ممت ممت
 ممت. ممت ممت ممت ممت ممت ممت ممت ممت
 [ممت] [۷] ممتا ممت ممت ممت ممت ممت ممت.
 ممت ممت ممت ممت ممت ممت ممت ممت ممت
 ممت ممت ممت ممت ممت ممت ممت ممت ممت
 [۱۰] [۱] ممت ممت ممت ممت ممت ممت ممت
 ممت ممت [ممت ممت] [۱۱] ممت ممت ممت ممت
 ممت ممت. ممت ممت ممت ممت ممت [۱۳] ممت
 ممت [۱۴]. ممت ممت ممت ممت ممت ممت
 ممت ممت ممت ممت ممت ممت ممت ممت ممت
 [۱۵] ممت ممت ممت ممت ممت ممت ممت ممت
 ممت ممت ممت ممت ممت ممت ممت ممت ممت
 ممت ممت ممت ممت ممت ممت ممت ممت ممت
 ممت ممت ممت ممت ممت ممت ممت ممت ممت
 [۱۹] ممت ممت ممت ممت ممت ممت ممت ممت
 ممت ممت ممت ممت ممت ممت ممت ممت ممت
 [۲۱] ممت ممت ممت ممت ممت ممت ممت ممت

¹ ممت.

² V. ممت.

³ V. omits.

⁴ V. ممت.

ممت.

⁵ V. adds ممت.

⁶ ممت.

⁷ V. ممت.

⁸ M. adds ممت.

⁹ V. adds ممت.

¹⁰ M. ممت and

V. omits.

¹¹ M. ممت.

¹² V. ممت.

¹³ V. ممت.

¹⁴ ممت.

¹⁵ V. omits.

¹⁶ V. adds ممت.

¹⁷ V. adds

ممت.

¹⁸ V. ممت.

¹⁹ V. ممت and ممت.

²⁰ V.

ممت.

²¹ V. ممت and ممت.

לְמַחְבֵּרָהּ הִיטְלָהּ; וְהִיא חֲבֵרָה [בְּחֵסֶד¹] חֵט אֶשְׁרָאֵל בְּעֵינֶי
 חֲבֵרָהּ. מֵאֵלֶּיךָ אֶעֱמֵדָה בְּמֵסֶה. מֵחֵסֶד אֶחָדָה תֵּלֵךְ
 בְּחֵסֶד מֵעַמְּךָ מִבֶּר מִלְחָמָהּ מֵאֵלֶּיךָ חֵסֶד חֲבֵרָה.
 וְהִיא אֶבְרָהָם מֵהַ [חָזָא²] בְּיָדָהּ חֵסֶד; וְהִיא אֶמְלָה
 בְּאֶרְצָהּ פִּלְסְטִינָה³ מֵעֲמָלֶיךָ חֲבֵרָה [חֶסֶד מֵאֵלֶּיךָ⁴] חֲבֵרָה
 בְּעֵינֶיךָ אֶמְלָהּ בְּמֵסֶה מֵעַמְּךָ מֵאֵלֶּיךָ אֶמְלָהּ חֵסֶד
 חֲבֵרָה חֲבֵרָה; וְהִיא מֵעַמְּךָ אֶל חֵסֶד; וְהִיא חֵסֶד בְּמֵסֶה
 מֵאֵלֶּיךָ; וְהִיא חֵסֶד; וְהִיא חֵסֶד מֵאֵלֶּיךָ אֶל בְּמֵסֶה
 אֶל חֲבֵרָה⁵.

וְהִיא בְּמֵסֶה מֵאֵלֶּיךָ חֲבֵרָה חֲבֵרָה חֲבֵרָה [וְהִיא חֲבֵרָה
 חֲבֵרָה⁶] מֵסֶה [לִסְמֵךְ אֶשְׁרָאֵל חֲבֵרָה⁷] מֵסֶה אֶמְלָהּ⁸
 מֵעַמְּךָ חֲבֵרָה מֵעַמְּךָ חֲבֵרָה [וְהִיא חֲבֵרָה מֵבֶר מֵסֶה⁹]
 מֵעַמְּךָ חֲבֵרָה מֵאֵלֶּיךָ חֲבֵרָה מֵבֶר מֵסֶה [וְהִיא חֲבֵרָה¹⁰]
 חֲבֵרָה מֵעַמְּךָ חֲבֵרָה¹¹ חֲבֵרָה בְּיָדָהּ¹². מֵעַמְּךָ [חֲבֵרָה¹³] מֵעַמְּךָ
 מֵסֶה בְּחֵסֶד מֵאֵלֶּיךָ חֲבֵרָה חֲבֵרָה [חֲבֵרָה¹⁴] מֵעַמְּךָ
 מֵאֵלֶּיךָ אֶל חֲבֵרָה מֵאֵלֶּיךָ חֲבֵרָה חֲבֵרָה. וְהִיא חֲבֵרָה
 אֶשְׁרָאֵל חֲבֵרָה אֶמְלָהּ בְּמֵסֶה אֶשְׁרָאֵל חֲבֵרָה אֶל חֲבֵרָה
 בְּמֵסֶה אֶל אֶל חֲבֵרָה. וְהִיא חֲבֵרָה אֶשְׁרָאֵל מֵבֶר [בְּעֵינֶיךָ¹⁵]

¹ V. omits.

² V. וְחָזָא.

³ V. adds בְּיָדָהּ.

⁴ חֶסֶד מֵאֵלֶּיךָ.

⁵ V. adds וְהִיא חֲבֵרָה מֵבֶר מֵסֶה.

⁶ V. אֶשְׁרָאֵל חֲבֵרָה.

⁷ V. חֲבֵרָה מֵאֵלֶּיךָ.

⁸ V. adds לִסְמֵךְ.

⁹ V. adds and inverts the order.

¹⁰ V. omits

¹¹ V. מֵעַמְּךָ.



¹² V. adds מֵעַמְּךָ.

¹³ M. omits.

¹⁴ V. חֲבֵרָה.

¹⁵ V. בְּיָדָהּ.

[illegible][illegible]

¹ V. حال. ² V. adds . ³ V.  . 

حاشه: سره / و / حاشه: لا يقتصر حاشه: محمدا / و / حاشه: عازا حاشه: حاشه: 4 V. omits. 5 V. omits.

۱۴ ج۔ ۵۰۹۷ شہنشاہ حجی را اعلیا و بملا حه و سلالا V.
حممما والا نه بجے م عممم ممعرا مع عارا را الا مممما.

⁷ V. لَا. ⁸ وَالْحَمْدُ. ⁹ V. دَعَا. ¹⁰ V. adds لَا مَدَامَا

١١ V. adds **حلال**. ١٢ V. adds **فاحش**. ١٣ V. omits.

¹⁴ V.  ¹⁵ V. adds  ¹⁶ V. 

17 V. *medusa*.

[illegible]

23 22 24
 25
 26

¹ V. adds **حب**. ² V. adds **ايحب**. ³ V. adds **احمل**. ⁴ M.
احل and V. **احل**. ⁵ V. **حمر معقل**. ⁶ V. inverts the
order. ⁷ V. **ه/م/ل**. ⁸ V. adds **لحباب**. ⁹ M. and V. add
حب /م/ن/ احل/ م/ن/ حب. ¹⁰ V. adds **حب**. ¹¹ V.
omits. ¹² M. inverts the order and V. **حمل/ حب/ م/ن/ل**.
¹³ V. **لا /م/ل**. ¹⁴ V. **محمل**. ¹⁵ V. adds **بحل**. ¹⁶ M. omits.
¹⁷ V. omits. ¹⁸ V. **ه/ل**. ¹⁹ V. adds **به**. ²⁰ V. **محمس/م/ل به**.
حلسه/ب. ²¹ V. adds **حب**. ²² V. adds **م/ن**. ²³ V. adds **به**.
²⁴ V. adds **ل/ه /م/ن/ م/ن/ل**. ²⁵ V. omits. ²⁶ V. adds **ح/م/ل**.

1. ¹ ² ³ ⁴ ⁵ ⁶ ⁷ ⁸ ⁹ ¹⁰ ¹¹ ¹² ¹³ ¹⁴ ¹⁵ ¹⁶ ¹⁷ ¹⁸ ¹⁹ ²⁰ ²¹ ²² ²³ ²⁴ ²⁵ ²⁶ ²⁷ ²⁸ ²⁹ ³⁰ ³¹ ³² ³³ ³⁴ ³⁵ ³⁶ ³⁷ ³⁸ ³⁹ ⁴⁰ ⁴¹ ⁴² ⁴³ ⁴⁴ ⁴⁵ ⁴⁶ ⁴⁷ ⁴⁸ ⁴⁹ ⁵⁰ ⁵¹ ⁵² ⁵³ ⁵⁴ ⁵⁵ ⁵⁶ ⁵⁷ ⁵⁸ ⁵⁹ ⁶⁰ ⁶¹ ⁶² ⁶³ ⁶⁴ ⁶⁵ ⁶⁶ ⁶⁷ ⁶⁸ ⁶⁹ ⁷⁰ ⁷¹ ⁷² ⁷³ ⁷⁴ ⁷⁵ ⁷⁶ ⁷⁷ ⁷⁸ ⁷⁹ ⁸⁰ ⁸¹ ⁸² ⁸³ ⁸⁴ ⁸⁵ ⁸⁶ ⁸⁷ ⁸⁸ ⁸⁹ ⁹⁰ ⁹¹ ⁹² ⁹³ ⁹⁴ ⁹⁵ ⁹⁶ ⁹⁷ ⁹⁸ ⁹⁹ ¹⁰⁰ ¹⁰¹ ¹⁰² ¹⁰³ ¹⁰⁴ ¹⁰⁵ ¹⁰⁶ ¹⁰⁷ ¹⁰⁸ ¹⁰⁹ ¹¹⁰ ¹¹¹ ¹¹² ¹¹³ ¹¹⁴ ¹¹⁵ ¹¹⁶ ¹¹⁷ ¹¹⁸ ¹¹⁹ ¹²⁰ ¹²¹ ¹²² ¹²³ ¹²⁴ ¹²⁵ ¹²⁶ ¹²⁷ ¹²⁸ ¹²⁹ ¹³⁰ ¹³¹ ¹³² ¹³³ ¹³⁴ ¹³⁵ ¹³⁶ ¹³⁷ ¹³⁸ ¹³⁹ ¹⁴⁰ ¹⁴¹ ¹⁴² ¹⁴³ ¹⁴⁴ ¹⁴⁵ ¹⁴⁶ ¹⁴⁷ ¹⁴⁸ ¹⁴⁹ ¹⁵⁰ ¹⁵¹ ¹⁵² ¹⁵³ ¹⁵⁴ ¹⁵⁵ ¹⁵⁶ ¹⁵⁷ ¹⁵⁸ ¹⁵⁹ ¹⁶⁰ ¹⁶¹ ¹⁶² ¹⁶³ ¹⁶⁴ ¹⁶⁵ ¹⁶⁶ ¹⁶⁷ ¹⁶⁸ ¹⁶⁹ ¹⁷⁰ ¹⁷¹ ¹⁷² ¹⁷³ ¹⁷⁴ ¹⁷⁵ ¹⁷⁶ ¹⁷⁷ ¹⁷⁸ ¹⁷⁹ ¹⁸⁰ ¹⁸¹ ¹⁸² ¹⁸³ ¹⁸⁴ ¹⁸⁵ ¹⁸⁶ ¹⁸⁷ ¹⁸⁸ ¹⁸⁹ ¹⁹⁰ ¹⁹¹ ¹⁹² ¹⁹³ ¹⁹⁴ ¹⁹⁵ ¹⁹⁶ ¹⁹⁷ ¹⁹⁸ ¹⁹⁹ ²⁰⁰ ²⁰¹ ²⁰² ²⁰³ ²⁰⁴ ²⁰⁵ ²⁰⁶ ²⁰⁷ ²⁰⁸ ²⁰⁹ ²¹⁰ ²¹¹ ²¹² ²¹³ ²¹⁴ ²¹⁵ ²¹⁶ ²¹⁷ ²¹⁸ ²¹⁹ ²²⁰ ²²¹ ²²² ²²³ ²²⁴ ²²⁵ ²²⁶ ²²⁷ ²²⁸ ²²⁹ ²³⁰ ²³¹ ²³² ²³³ ²³⁴ ²³⁵ ²³⁶ ²³⁷ ²³⁸ ²³⁹ ²⁴⁰ ²⁴¹ ²⁴² ²⁴³ ²⁴⁴ ²⁴⁵ ²⁴⁶ ²⁴⁷ ²⁴⁸ ²⁴⁹ ²⁵⁰ ²⁵¹ ²⁵² ²⁵³ ²⁵⁴ ²⁵⁵ ²⁵⁶ ²⁵⁷ ²⁵⁸ ²⁵⁹ ²⁶⁰ ²⁶¹ ²⁶² ²⁶³ ²⁶⁴ ²⁶⁵ ²⁶⁶ ²⁶⁷ ²⁶⁸ ²⁶⁹ ²⁷⁰ ²⁷¹ ²⁷² ²⁷³ ²⁷⁴ ²⁷⁵ ²⁷⁶ ²⁷⁷ ²⁷⁸ ²⁷⁹ ²⁸⁰ ²⁸¹ ²⁸² ²⁸³ ²⁸⁴ ²⁸⁵ ²⁸⁶ ²⁸⁷ ²⁸⁸ ²⁸⁹ ²⁹⁰ ²⁹¹ ²⁹² ²⁹³ ²⁹⁴ ²⁹⁵ ²⁹⁶ ²⁹⁷ ²⁹⁸ ²⁹⁹ ³⁰⁰ ³⁰¹ ³⁰² ³⁰³ ³⁰⁴ ³⁰⁵ ³⁰⁶ ³⁰⁷ ³⁰⁸ ³⁰⁹ ³¹⁰ ³¹¹ ³¹² ³¹³ ³¹⁴ ³¹⁵ ³¹⁶ ³¹⁷ ³¹⁸ ³¹⁹ ³²⁰ ³²¹ ³²² ³²³ ³²⁴ ³²⁵ ³²⁶ ³²⁷ ³²⁸ ³²⁹ ³³⁰ ³³¹ ³³² ³³³ ³³⁴ ³³⁵ ³³⁶ ³³⁷ ³³⁸ ³³⁹ ³⁴⁰ ³⁴¹ ³⁴² ³⁴³ ³⁴⁴ ³⁴⁵ ³⁴⁶ ³⁴⁷ ³⁴⁸ ³⁴⁹ ³⁵⁰ ³⁵¹ ³⁵² ³⁵³ ³⁵⁴ ³⁵⁵ ³⁵⁶ ³⁵⁷ ³⁵⁸ ³⁵⁹ ³⁶⁰ ³⁶¹ ³⁶² ³⁶³ ³⁶⁴ ³⁶⁵ ³⁶⁶ ³⁶⁷ ³⁶⁸ ³⁶⁹ ³⁷⁰ ³⁷¹ ³⁷² ³⁷³ ³⁷⁴ ³⁷⁵ ³⁷⁶ ³⁷⁷ ³⁷⁸ ³⁷⁹ ³⁸⁰ ³⁸¹ ³⁸² ³⁸³ ³⁸⁴ ³⁸⁵ ³⁸⁶ ³⁸⁷ ³⁸⁸ ³⁸⁹ ³⁹⁰ ³⁹¹ ³⁹² ³⁹³ ³⁹⁴ ³⁹⁵ ³⁹⁶ ³⁹⁷ ³⁹⁸ ³⁹⁹ ⁴⁰⁰ ⁴⁰¹ ⁴⁰² ⁴⁰³ ⁴⁰⁴ ⁴⁰⁵ ⁴⁰⁶ ⁴⁰⁷ ⁴⁰⁸ ⁴⁰⁹ ⁴¹⁰ ⁴¹¹ ⁴¹² ⁴¹³ ⁴¹⁴ ⁴¹⁵ ⁴¹⁶ ⁴¹⁷ ⁴¹⁸ ⁴¹⁹ ⁴²⁰ ⁴²¹ ⁴²² ⁴²³ ⁴²⁴ ⁴²⁵ ⁴²⁶ ⁴²⁷ ⁴²⁸ ⁴²⁹ ⁴³⁰ ⁴³¹ ⁴³² ⁴³³ ⁴³⁴ ⁴³⁵ ⁴³⁶ ⁴³⁷ ⁴³⁸ ⁴³⁹ ⁴⁴⁰ ⁴⁴¹ ⁴⁴² ⁴⁴³ ⁴⁴⁴ ⁴⁴⁵ ⁴⁴⁶ ⁴⁴⁷ ⁴⁴⁸ ⁴⁴⁹ ⁴⁵⁰ ⁴⁵¹ ⁴⁵² ⁴⁵³ ⁴⁵⁴ ⁴⁵⁵ ⁴⁵⁶ ⁴⁵⁷ ⁴⁵⁸ ⁴⁵⁹ ⁴⁶⁰ ⁴⁶¹ ⁴⁶² ⁴⁶³ ⁴⁶⁴ ⁴⁶⁵ ⁴⁶⁶ ⁴⁶⁷ ⁴⁶⁸ ⁴⁶⁹ ⁴⁷⁰ ⁴⁷¹ ⁴⁷² ⁴⁷³ ⁴⁷⁴ ⁴⁷⁵ ⁴⁷⁶ ⁴⁷⁷ ⁴⁷⁸ ⁴⁷⁹ ⁴⁸⁰ ⁴⁸¹ ⁴⁸² ⁴⁸³ ⁴⁸⁴ ⁴⁸⁵ ⁴⁸⁶ ⁴⁸⁷ ⁴⁸⁸ ⁴⁸⁹ ⁴⁹⁰ ⁴⁹¹ ⁴⁹² ⁴⁹³ ⁴⁹⁴ ⁴⁹⁵ ⁴⁹⁶ ⁴⁹⁷ ⁴⁹⁸ ⁴⁹⁹ ⁵⁰⁰ ⁵⁰¹ ⁵⁰² ⁵⁰³ ⁵⁰⁴ ⁵⁰⁵ ⁵⁰⁶ ⁵⁰⁷ ⁵⁰⁸ ⁵⁰⁹ ⁵¹⁰ ⁵¹¹ ⁵¹² ⁵¹³ ⁵¹⁴ ⁵¹⁵ ⁵¹⁶ ⁵¹⁷ ⁵¹⁸ ⁵¹⁹ ⁵²⁰ ⁵²¹ ⁵²² ⁵²³ ⁵²⁴ ⁵²⁵ ⁵²⁶ ⁵²⁷ ⁵²⁸ ⁵²⁹ ⁵³⁰ ⁵³¹ ⁵³² ⁵³³ ⁵³⁴ ⁵³⁵ ⁵³⁶ ⁵³⁷ ⁵³⁸ ⁵³⁹ ⁵⁴⁰ ⁵⁴¹ ⁵⁴² ⁵⁴³ ⁵⁴⁴ ⁵⁴⁵ ⁵⁴⁶ ⁵⁴⁷ ⁵⁴⁸ ⁵⁴⁹ ⁵⁵⁰ ⁵⁵¹ ⁵⁵² ⁵⁵³ ⁵⁵⁴ ⁵⁵⁵ ⁵⁵⁶ ⁵⁵⁷ ⁵⁵⁸ ⁵⁵⁹ ⁵⁶⁰ ⁵⁶¹ ⁵⁶² ⁵⁶³ ⁵⁶⁴ ⁵⁶⁵ ⁵⁶⁶ ⁵⁶⁷ ⁵⁶⁸ ⁵⁶⁹ ⁵⁷⁰ ⁵⁷¹ ⁵⁷² ⁵⁷³ ⁵⁷⁴ ⁵⁷⁵ ⁵⁷⁶ ⁵⁷⁷ ⁵⁷⁸ ⁵⁷⁹ ⁵⁸⁰ ⁵⁸¹ ⁵⁸² ⁵⁸³ ⁵⁸⁴ ⁵⁸⁵ ⁵⁸⁶ ⁵⁸⁷ ⁵⁸⁸ ⁵⁸⁹ ⁵⁹⁰ ⁵⁹¹ ⁵⁹² ⁵⁹³ ⁵⁹⁴ ⁵⁹⁵ ⁵⁹⁶ ⁵⁹⁷ ⁵⁹⁸ ⁵⁹⁹ ⁶⁰⁰ ⁶⁰¹ ⁶⁰² ⁶⁰³ ⁶⁰⁴ ⁶⁰⁵ ⁶⁰⁶ ⁶⁰⁷ ⁶⁰⁸ ⁶⁰⁹ ⁶¹⁰ ⁶¹¹ ⁶¹² ⁶¹³ ⁶¹⁴ ⁶¹⁵ ⁶¹⁶ ⁶¹⁷ ⁶¹⁸ ⁶¹⁹ ⁶²⁰ ⁶²¹ ⁶²² ⁶²³ ⁶²⁴ ⁶²⁵ ⁶²⁶ ⁶²⁷ ⁶²⁸ ⁶²⁹ ⁶³⁰ ⁶³¹ ⁶³² ⁶³³ ⁶³⁴ ⁶³⁵ ⁶³⁶ ⁶³⁷ ⁶³⁸ ⁶³⁹ ⁶⁴⁰ ⁶⁴¹ ⁶⁴² ⁶⁴³ ⁶⁴⁴ ⁶⁴⁵ ⁶⁴⁶ ⁶⁴⁷ ⁶⁴⁸ ⁶⁴⁹ ⁶⁵⁰ ⁶⁵¹ ⁶⁵² ⁶⁵³ ⁶⁵⁴ ⁶⁵⁵ ⁶⁵⁶ ⁶⁵⁷ ⁶⁵⁸ ⁶⁵⁹ ⁶⁶⁰ ⁶⁶¹ ⁶⁶² ⁶⁶³ ⁶⁶⁴ ⁶⁶⁵ ⁶⁶⁶ ⁶⁶⁷ ⁶⁶⁸ ⁶⁶⁹ ⁶⁷⁰ ⁶⁷¹ ⁶⁷² ⁶⁷³ ⁶⁷⁴ ⁶⁷⁵ ⁶⁷⁶ ⁶⁷⁷ ⁶⁷⁸ ⁶⁷⁹ ⁶⁸⁰ ⁶⁸¹ ⁶⁸² ⁶⁸³ ⁶⁸⁴ ⁶⁸⁵ ⁶⁸⁶ ⁶⁸⁷ ⁶⁸⁸ ⁶⁸⁹ ⁶⁹⁰ ⁶⁹¹ ⁶⁹² ⁶⁹³ ⁶⁹⁴ ⁶⁹⁵ ⁶⁹⁶ ⁶⁹⁷ ⁶⁹⁸ ⁶⁹⁹ ⁷⁰⁰ ⁷⁰¹ ⁷⁰² ⁷⁰³ ⁷⁰⁴ ⁷⁰⁵ ⁷⁰⁶ ⁷⁰⁷ ⁷⁰⁸ ⁷⁰⁹ ⁷¹⁰ ⁷¹¹ ⁷¹² ⁷¹³ ⁷¹⁴ ⁷¹⁵ ⁷¹⁶ ⁷¹⁷ ⁷¹⁸ ⁷¹⁹ ⁷²⁰ ⁷²¹ ⁷²² ⁷²³ ⁷²⁴ ⁷²⁵ ⁷²⁶ ⁷²⁷ ⁷²⁸ ⁷²⁹ ⁷³⁰ ⁷³¹ ⁷³² ⁷³³ ⁷³⁴ ⁷³⁵ ⁷³⁶ ⁷³⁷ ⁷³⁸ ⁷³⁹ ⁷⁴⁰ ⁷⁴¹ ⁷⁴² ⁷⁴³ ⁷⁴⁴ ⁷⁴⁵ ⁷⁴⁶ ⁷⁴⁷ ⁷⁴⁸ ⁷⁴⁹ ⁷⁵⁰ ⁷⁵¹ ⁷⁵² ⁷⁵³ ⁷⁵⁴ ⁷⁵⁵ ⁷⁵⁶ ⁷⁵⁷ ⁷⁵⁸ ⁷⁵⁹ ⁷⁶⁰ ⁷⁶¹ ⁷⁶² ⁷⁶³ ⁷⁶⁴ ⁷⁶⁵ ⁷⁶⁶ ⁷⁶⁷ ⁷⁶⁸ ⁷⁶⁹ ⁷⁷⁰ ⁷⁷¹ ⁷⁷² ⁷⁷³ ⁷⁷⁴ ⁷⁷⁵ ⁷⁷⁶ ⁷⁷⁷ ⁷⁷⁸ ⁷⁷⁹ ⁷⁸⁰ ⁷⁸¹ ⁷⁸² ⁷⁸³ ⁷⁸⁴ ⁷⁸⁵ ⁷⁸⁶ ⁷⁸⁷ ⁷⁸⁸ ⁷⁸⁹ ⁷⁹⁰ ⁷⁹¹ ⁷⁹² ⁷⁹³ ⁷⁹⁴ ⁷⁹⁵ ⁷⁹⁶ ⁷⁹⁷ ⁷⁹⁸ ⁷⁹⁹ ⁸⁰⁰ ⁸⁰¹ ⁸⁰² ⁸⁰³ ⁸⁰⁴ ⁸⁰⁵ ⁸⁰⁶ ⁸⁰⁷ ⁸⁰⁸ ⁸⁰⁹ ⁸¹⁰ ⁸¹¹ ⁸¹² ⁸¹³ ⁸¹⁴ ⁸¹⁵ ⁸¹⁶ ⁸¹⁷ ⁸¹⁸ ⁸¹⁹ ⁸²⁰ ⁸²¹ ⁸²² ⁸²³ ⁸²⁴ ⁸²⁵ ⁸²⁶ ⁸²⁷ ⁸²⁸ ⁸²⁹ ⁸³⁰ ⁸³¹ ⁸³² ⁸³³ ⁸³⁴ ⁸³⁵ ⁸³⁶ ⁸³⁷ ⁸³⁸ ⁸³⁹ ⁸⁴⁰ ⁸⁴¹ ⁸⁴² ⁸⁴³ ⁸⁴⁴ ⁸⁴⁵ ⁸⁴⁶ ⁸⁴⁷ ⁸⁴⁸ ⁸⁴⁹ ⁸⁵⁰ ⁸⁵¹ ⁸⁵² ⁸⁵³ ⁸⁵⁴ ⁸⁵⁵ ⁸⁵⁶ ⁸⁵⁷ ⁸⁵⁸ ⁸⁵⁹ ⁸⁶⁰ ⁸⁶¹ ⁸⁶² ⁸⁶³ ⁸⁶⁴ ⁸⁶⁵ ⁸⁶⁶ ⁸⁶⁷ ⁸⁶⁸ ⁸⁶⁹ ⁸⁷⁰ ⁸⁷¹ ⁸⁷² ⁸⁷³ ⁸⁷⁴ ⁸⁷⁵ ⁸⁷⁶ ⁸⁷⁷ ⁸⁷⁸ ⁸⁷⁹ ⁸⁸⁰ ⁸⁸¹ ⁸⁸² ⁸⁸³ ⁸⁸⁴ ⁸⁸⁵ ⁸⁸⁶ ⁸⁸⁷ ⁸⁸⁸ ⁸⁸⁹ ⁸⁹⁰ ⁸⁹¹ ⁸⁹² ⁸⁹³ ⁸⁹⁴ ⁸⁹⁵ ⁸⁹⁶ ⁸⁹⁷ ⁸⁹⁸ ⁸⁹⁹ ⁹⁰⁰ ⁹⁰¹ ⁹⁰² ⁹⁰³ ⁹⁰⁴ ⁹⁰⁵ ⁹⁰⁶ ⁹⁰⁷ ⁹⁰⁸ ⁹⁰⁹ ⁹¹⁰ ⁹¹¹ ⁹¹² ⁹¹³ ⁹¹⁴ ⁹¹⁵ ⁹¹⁶ ⁹¹⁷ ⁹¹⁸ ⁹¹⁹ ⁹²⁰ ⁹²¹ ⁹²² ⁹²³ ⁹²⁴ ⁹²⁵ ⁹²⁶ ⁹²⁷ ⁹²⁸ ⁹²⁹ ⁹³⁰ ⁹³¹ ⁹³² ⁹³³ ⁹³⁴ ⁹³⁵ ⁹³⁶ ⁹³⁷ ⁹³⁸ ⁹³⁹ ⁹⁴⁰ ⁹⁴¹ ⁹⁴² ⁹⁴³ ⁹⁴⁴ ⁹⁴⁵ ⁹⁴⁶ ⁹⁴⁷ ⁹⁴⁸ ⁹⁴⁹ ⁹⁵⁰ ⁹⁵¹ ⁹⁵² ⁹⁵³ ⁹⁵⁴ ⁹⁵⁵ ⁹⁵⁶ ⁹⁵⁷ ⁹⁵⁸ ⁹⁵⁹ ⁹⁶⁰ ⁹⁶¹ ⁹⁶² ⁹⁶³ ⁹⁶⁴ ⁹⁶⁵ ⁹⁶⁶ ⁹⁶⁷ ⁹⁶⁸ ⁹⁶⁹ ⁹⁷⁰ ⁹⁷¹ ⁹⁷² ⁹⁷³ ⁹⁷⁴ ⁹⁷⁵ ⁹⁷⁶ ⁹⁷⁷ ⁹⁷⁸ ⁹⁷⁹ ⁹⁸⁰ ⁹⁸¹ ⁹⁸² ⁹⁸³ ⁹⁸⁴ ⁹⁸⁵ ⁹⁸⁶ ⁹⁸⁷ ⁹⁸⁸ ⁹⁸⁹ ⁹⁹⁰ ⁹⁹¹ ⁹⁹² ⁹⁹³ ⁹⁹⁴ ⁹⁹⁵ ⁹⁹⁶ ⁹⁹⁷ ⁹⁹⁸ ⁹⁹⁹ ¹⁰⁰⁰

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[illegible]

¹¹ M. للهو. ¹² M. للهو (*sic*). ¹³ M. للهو
للهو (*sic*).

وَعِنْدَافِ حَمِيهِ اِهْ اَمَدِ حَمَلَمَلَا مَبْعَدَا [١] اَمَقْلَا حَلَا
مَعْمَدِ مَعْمَدِ. مَلَا مَلَا حَمَلَمَلَا مَلَا [٢] مَلَمَلَمَلَا [٣] اَمَدِ
مَلَا [وَعِنْدَا^٣ (sic)] حَمَلَا حَمَلَا حَمَلَا حَمَلَا حَمَلَا اَمَدِ.
مَلَمَدِ اَمَدِ.

مَدِ اَمَدِ اَمَدِ حَمَلَمَلَا مَلَمَلَا حَمَلَا مَلَمَلَا
مَلَمَلَا مَلَمَلَا مَلَمَلَا مَلَمَلَا مَلَمَلَا مَلَمَلَا مَلَمَلَا
مَدِ مَلَا مَلَمَلَا مَلَمَلَا اَمَدِ اَمَدِ مَلَمَلَا مَلَمَلَا
مَلَمَلَا مَلَا اَمَدِ مَلَمَلَا مَلَمَلَا مَلَمَلَا. مَلَمَلَا مَلَمَلَا
مَلَمَلَا مَلَمَلَا مَلَمَلَا مَلَمَلَا مَلَمَلَا مَلَمَلَا مَلَمَلَا
مَلَمَلَا. [اَمَدِ^٤] اَمَدِ حَمَلَا مَلَمَلَا مَلَمَلَا مَلَمَلَا
مَلَمَلَا. اَمَدِ مَلَمَلَا حَمَلَا حَمَلَا حَمَلَا مَلَمَلَا
اَمَدِ مَلَمَلَا مَلَمَلَا مَلَمَلَا مَلَمَلَا [اَمَدِ^٥] مَلَمَلَا
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مَلَمَلَا مَلَمَلَا مَلَمَلَا مَلَمَلَا مَلَمَلَا مَلَمَلَا [اَمَدِ^٦]
مَلَمَلَا مَلَمَلَا مَلَمَلَا مَلَمَلَا مَلَمَلَا مَلَمَلَا مَلَمَلَا
مَلَمَلَا [اَمَدِ^٧] حَمَلَا مَلَمَلَا مَلَمَلَا مَلَمَلَا مَلَمَلَا
مَلَمَلَا مَلَمَلَا مَلَمَلَا مَلَمَلَا مَلَمَلَا [حَمَلَا^٨] مَلَمَلَا. اَمَدِ
اَمَدِ مَلَمَلَا مَلَمَلَا مَلَمَلَا مَلَمَلَا [اَمَدِ^٩] مَلَمَلَا
مَلَمَلَا [حَمَلَا^{١٠}] مَلَمَلَا مَلَمَلَا مَلَمَلَا مَلَمَلَا مَلَمَلَا
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¹ M. مَلَمَلَا. ² M. مَلَمَلَا. ³ So M. ⁴ M. اَمَدِ.

⁵ M. omits. ⁶ M. مَلَمَلَا. ⁷ M. مَلَمَلَا. ⁸ M. حَمَلَا.

⁹ M. اَمَدِ. ¹⁰ So M.

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¹ M. omits. ² M. adds *والمحذوف من المعنى*, *لا محذور*

⁶ V. جيعا لوعا. ⁷ V. موم and موم; M. موم but موم.

¹² V. adds **حَمْدًا**. ¹³ V. omits. ¹⁴ V. **مَدَامًا**. ¹⁵ V. **حَالًا**.

¹⁶ محمد حجاز موقوف.

[illegible]

¹ V. omits.

² V. اللامية واللحمية.

3 V. o;A; .

⁴ V. adds **ما**.

⁵ V. ۱۵۱.

⁶ V. and M. add **متحار**.

7 V.

omits. ⁸ V. omits. ⁹ V. inverts the order. ¹⁰ V. محمد.

¹¹ M. omits.

12 V. ۱۲۰۰.

14. **بِحَدِّهِ** 13 **M. حِدِّهِ**.

حرف.

¹⁵ V. omits.

¹⁶ V. adds **col.**

¹⁷ V. omits.

۱۰۰ و مَسْأَلَةُ الْحَدِّ وَحَدِّهَا. مَسْأَلَةُ الْمَنْعَةِ وَحَدِّهَا ۱۰۱ و مَسْأَلَةُ
مَسْأَلَةُ الْمَنْعَةِ ۱ مَسْأَلَةُ الْمَنْعَةِ وَحَدِّهَا ۱۰۲ و مَسْأَلَةُ الْمَنْعَةِ وَحَدِّهَا ۲
مَسْأَلَةُ الْمَنْعَةِ وَحَدِّهَا ۳ مَسْأَلَةُ الْمَنْعَةِ وَحَدِّهَا ۴ مَسْأَلَةُ الْمَنْعَةِ وَحَدِّهَا ۵
مَسْأَلَةُ الْمَنْعَةِ وَحَدِّهَا ۶ مَسْأَلَةُ الْمَنْعَةِ وَحَدِّهَا ۷ مَسْأَلَةُ الْمَنْعَةِ وَحَدِّهَا ۸
مَسْأَلَةُ الْمَنْعَةِ وَحَدِّهَا ۹ مَسْأَلَةُ الْمَنْعَةِ وَحَدِّهَا ۱۰ مَسْأَلَةُ الْمَنْعَةِ وَحَدِّهَا ۱۱
مَسْأَلَةُ الْمَنْعَةِ وَحَدِّهَا ۱۲ (sic) مَسْأَلَةُ الْمَنْعَةِ وَحَدِّهَا ۱۳ مَسْأَلَةُ الْمَنْعَةِ وَحَدِّهَا ۱۴
مَسْأَلَةُ الْمَنْعَةِ وَحَدِّهَا ۱۵ مَسْأَلَةُ الْمَنْعَةِ وَحَدِّهَا ۱۶ مَسْأَلَةُ الْمَنْعَةِ وَحَدِّهَا ۱۷
مَسْأَلَةُ الْمَنْعَةِ وَحَدِّهَا ۱۸ مَسْأَلَةُ الْمَنْعَةِ وَحَدِّهَا ۱۹ مَسْأَلَةُ الْمَنْعَةِ وَحَدِّهَا ۲۰

¹ V. adds **محتج** **و**. ² V. omits. ³ V. omits. ⁴ V.

inverts the order. ⁵ V. ٥٩ ﴿حَمَلٌ اَوَّلًا مِّنْ قَبْلِ﴾

⁶ V. adds
همم حله، نعمر أسلمنا مله؛ مني غا ده /
حاله مبعلا هده، لحقا؛ ملاقا مبتعا له ا جاوا مبعا
مللحي مهبل او محتحب صمصعلا اله

الحمد ! الحمد لله على ما بهدئ سلمنا من الدنيا ومقها
مهيئت . الحمد لله وسلمة العلم والحمد لله الذي لا يخالع

⁷ V. إف الحمص حب ب. ⁸ V. عرب ب. ⁹ V. omits.

¹⁰ V. adds **و**. ¹¹ V. **معتدل مهتدل**. ¹² V. **معتدل مهتدل**.

